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ABSTRACT

New directions for higher education are discussed in 13 essays based on a 1983 conference on academic renewal. Six topics are covered: the challenge of renewal, organizational strategies for renewal, environmental contexts for renewal, curriculum developments, faculty renewal, and academic leadership. Titles and authors include: "Observations on Academic Renewal" (Billy E. Frye); "Perspectives on the Future of Higher Education: Opportunities for Optimism" (Howard R. Bowen); "Decline, New Demands, and Quality: An Institutional Agenda for Renewal" (Marvin W. Peterson); "Using External Information in Planning" (Richard B. Heydinger); "Academic Renewal and Public Policy" (Richard L. Alfred, Murray Jackson); "Disaggregating the Relationships between Government and Higher Education" (James L. Miller, Jr.); "Higher Education Linkages with Private Sector Business and Industry" (Harold McAninch); "Assessing Program Quality" (Robert T. Blackburn); "Liberating Education: Four Principles for the Curriculum" (John Nichols, Zelda Gamson); "The Faculty as a Renewable Resource" (Wilbert J. McKeachie); "Renewing Faculty Quality" (R. Blackburn); "Colleges and Universities as Workplaces" (Ann E. Austin, Z. Gamson); and "Academic Leadership: Some Personal Reflections" (Ernest L. Boyer). (SW)

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ACADEMIC RENEWAL

Advancing Higher Education Toward the Nineties

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Michael Waggoner, Richard L. Alfred and
Marvin W. Peterson, *editors*

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upon Presentations at the
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on Academic Renewal
held at

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Foreword

Over the past year, an important change occurred in the outlook of people who think about and lead higher education. Determination, if not optimism, has come to supplant pessimism. The essays in this book signal that shift and set guideposts for a new agenda for higher education.

The early years of the Eighties—their tone set by the Reagan administration, tough economic times, and the advent of demographic decline—tended to be grim ones in higher education. Kenneth Mortimer's now-famous "3R's" captured the agenda: reduction, reallocation, and retrenchment. Appropriations were pinched, enrollments became difficult to maintain, real salaries fell, professional mobility declined, RIF's entered the vocabulary: how well we learned a litany of woes.

During 1983–84, though, the conversation changed. "Enough!", people began to say, of hand-wringing, defensiveness, and blaming Reagan. Yes, the world and its rules are shifting and times will be tough. But, times have been tough before, as Howard Bowen reminds us in these pages; even so, our work has never been more needed and the agenda is still ours to declare. That agenda, the writers in this volume argue, should be assertive and proactive.

Bowen's sense of "opportunities for optimism" was no doubt helped by two developments in '83–84: first, the economy rebounded strongly (as did state-level appropriations in many cases); second, overall enrollments, which people predicted would fall by perhaps 5% in the '79–83 years, in fact rose 8%. And for all the berating of the administration's attitude toward higher education, its gospel of self-responsibility, local initiative, and entrepreneurship had an undeniable impact on the way educators think about their corporate future.

So what is the new agenda? The essays in this volume declare it has six points.

1. *Build alliances*. If higher education in the past lost support from being too standoffish, academic, and distinct from the nation's economy, one new thrust will be to develop partnerships with valued constitutencies. Three papers in this volume's second section deal with that phenomenon. Harold McAninch's in particular documents a remarkable level of collegiate bridge-building activity, most of it with business and industry. The message seems to be that if the nation is worried about its economic competitiveness, connect with that agenda and new support will follow.
2. *Emphasize quality*. Robert Blackburn's paper points out the elusiveness of quality as a concept. But people today think they know what it is and are sure they want it—in automobiles and in education. Public sentiment has lined up strongly behind a push to restore quality in secondary education; in higher education, "high quality" institutions are flooded with applications. Paper after paper in this volume puts forward quality is an imperative. Blackburn shows how underprepared we are to talk sensibly about the concept in public, and prescribes a corrective agenda of research.
3. *Renew curricula*. In the late Sixties and early Seventies, a lot of energy went into curricular issues; reform was in the air. In the years since, and especially when the 3R's held sway, curricular issues were put on the back burner. Not so now. Strategic planning forces attention to the content and quality of program offerings, and "quality" to matters of teaching and learning. Just as critical has been the strong growth in student vocationalism, which forces questions of breadth and of what to

do about underpopulated liberal arts curricular. The short paper in these pages by John Nichols and Zelda Gamson speaks wisely to the matter of breadth, certainly a critical issue today.

4. *Manage strategically.* If prior years were managerially preoccupied with incrementalism and an often fruitless long-range planning, 1983 was the year that strategic planning came into vogue in higher education. Spring of '83 saw publication of George Keller's *Academic strategy;* it told collegiate leaders to be bold, ask basic questions, look for opportunities, and be quick afoot. The papers by Marvin Peterson, Richard Alfred and Murray Jackson in these pages capture that spirit: Peterson's adds the useful concept of "institutional vision." Richard Heydinger's paper supplements this treatment with a useful analysis of that most difficult aspect of strategic management, knowledge of the environment. The five intriguing "scenarios" he sketches show the richness of the concept for managerial imagination.
5. *Revitalize through people.* One of the clearest (and dreariest) aspects of the 3R period was its impact on people, especially faculty. Howard Bowen, Ernest Boyer, and Marvin Peterson—each echoing a theme of '83–84's national best seller, *In Search of Excellence*—call for renewed attention to improving conditions for faculty well being and performance. Section five of this book contains three strong essays on the subject, each full of ideas with practical consequence. It is interesting how today's other new agendas—strategic management, alliance building, curricular quality—provoke new insights into the vitality question, especially when compared with the faculty development model of the Seventies.
6. *New leadership.* Finally, many observers of the higher education scene have come to a sense that new kinds of upper-echelon leadership will be needed to drive today's agenda. If we are to work as partners, think strategically, refashion educational forms, and manage through people, for example, then former leadership styles—the mediator, the budget master, the adept administrator—may have to give way to more visionary, creative people. Peters and Waterman made this point, as did George Keller, and now in these pages Marvin Peterson. Ernest Boyer's paper concluding this volume makes the point up front: we need leaders who can communicate a vision of the possible and convey meaning to the work of a college's people.

This collection of essays does not purport to be the ultimate statement of higher education's new agenda—technology and equity issues, for example, require greater attention—nor can one know fully what lies ahead, save for the surprises Howard Bowen knows will come. But they are a great place to begin. With new agendas comes fresh work to do.

Theodore J. Marchese
Washington, DC
July 16, 1984

Acknowledgements

The essays in this volume represent presentations made by the authors at a conference entitled Academic Renewal: Advancing Higher Education toward the 90's conducted June 12–14, 1983, at The University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. The conference was developed and sponsored by the Center for the Study of Higher Education in collaboration with the Professional Development Office of the School of Education. Cosponsoring the event were the American Association of Higher Education and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges.

Subsequent to the conference, versions of several of the essays appeared in a variety of publications. Howard Bowen, R. Stanton Avery Professor of Economics and Education, Claremont Graduate School, keynoted the conference; his remarks appeared in the April 1984 issue of Change Magazine. The paper delivered by Marvin W. Peterson, Professor and Director of the Center for the Study of Higher Education at the University of Michigan, appeared in Change Magazine in the May/June 1984 issue; Robert T. Blackburn, Professor, Center for the Study of Higher Education, University of Michigan, has two contributions in this volume. The first, "Assessing Program Quality," is an adaptation of two manuscripts: "Program Quality in Higher Education: A Review and Critique of Literature and Research," forthcoming in a volume edited by John Smart; and "Predictors of Program Quality in Regional Colleges and Universities," forthcoming in the American Educational Research Journal. His second essay, coauthored with Janet Lawrence, Associate Professor, the University of Michigan, School of Education, is adapted from two manuscripts by Robert T. Blackburn and Roger G. Baldwin in a volume entitled *College Faculty: Versatile Human Resources in a Period of Constraint*, San Francisco: New Direction for Institutional Research, vol. 10, no. 4, 1983.

The essay by John Nichols, Professor and Coordinator of the Core Program at St. Joseph College in Rensselaer, Indiana, and Zelda Gamson, Professor, University of Michigan Center for the Study of Higher Education, appears in adapted form in the book *Liberating Education* edited by Zelda Gamson and recently published by Jossey-Bass Publishers, Inc.

Wilbert J. McKeachie, professor of psychology, The University of Michigan, delivered an earlier version of his essay at the Academic Renewal Conference. Following the conference, it was excerpted in the American Association for Higher Education's November 1983 *Bulletin*. A comprehensive version also appeared in the *New Directions for Institutional Research* volume on college faculty edited by Roger G. Baldwin and Robert T. Blackburn.

Finally, the essay by Austin and Gamson has appeared as a chapter of their recently published ASHE/ERIC Research Report Number 10, entitled *Academic Workplaces: New Demands, Heightened Tensions*, 1983.

No publication makes its way into final form without the important contributions of individuals. By way of financial support, we acknowledge the important role played by the University of Michigan School of Education. We also wish to acknowledge and express appreciation to the University of Michigan Organizational Studies Seminar for their financial contribution to the conference. The staff of the Professional Development Office and the Office of the Dean in the School of Education have been instrumental from the inception of the conference through the production of this volume; special appreciation is

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Ann Arbor
August 1984

Michael D. Waggoner
Richard L. Alfred
Marvin W. Peterson

OBSERVATIONS ON ACADEMIC RENEWAL

Billy E. Frye

Academic renewal is a topic perhaps more critically deserving of our consideration now than it has been anytime in recent years. A cursory review of the chapters in this monograph will reveal that the agenda is in reality a frustrating dilemma: how to maintain the vitality of our institutions and continue to nourish dynamic evolution in the face of the tightest resources and lowest level of public support that we have seen in at least three decades. On the surface, there is a fascinating incongruence between the current reality of retrenchment and the essentially optimistic outlook that is inherent in the concept of renewal. Is it really possible to talk meaningfully about renewal in the face of such problems as:

- real resource declines (even in wealthy institutions) as great as 20% of our academic budgets;
- cumulative deficits in expenditures for equipment, physical plant renewal, and even salaries, that collectively may be as great as another 10% or 20% of our budgets;
- rising costs in some sectors of university expenditures, such as energy, computing, and libraries, that promise to continue to consume all of the budgetary flexibility that we can generate, and more;
- a projected demographic decline of as much as 20% or 30% in the traditional college age population that *will*—to what degree we know not—impact negatively on our enrollments and therefore upon our resource base;
- the lowest rate of faculty turnover, and therefore of internal budgetary flexibility, that we have known in over thirty years;
- decreasing opportunities for professional development, and therefore decreasing attractiveness of academic careers for new junior faculty in many sectors of the university; and superimposed on all of this,
- prolonged duration of the problem, continuing from nearly a decade in the past to perhaps a decade into the future, that precludes temporizing and bridging solutions and creates the discouraging sense that the necessity to manage these sorts of problems will foreclose any constructive and significant efforts at renewal.

How, in short, do the faculty and administration talk meaningfully about renewal when institutions at the present time typically have considerably less than 1% of their annual budgets available to put into real program development?

This familiar and discouraging litany of difficulties is not mentioned for reasons of pessimism. This is precisely the time when we must pay greater attention than in previous years to the problem of renewal, not only in order to be better prepared for the future than we shall otherwise be, but also as an important antidote to the depressing effect of inescapable constraints.

Incongruent though retrenchment and renewal may appear to be, there are nonetheless fundamental connections:

- first, a vital object of any retrenchment program is, or ought to be, not merely to maintain fiscal solvency, but to create a margin of resources—no longer available externally—to support development. If we fail to do this in the process of retrench-

ment, our long-term retrenchment programs may amount to little more than self mutilation, inevitable though retrenchment may be.

- secondly, it is important that retrenchment be carried out in such ways that, for the institution as a whole, and the profession at large, we sustain in the minds of our faculty a sense of optimism and confidence in the possibilities of the future.

Long habit has taught us to associate development with growth. This association, however, is not inevitable or intrinsic. Sometimes it is necessary to draw upon background experience to help sustain a positive sense of the real possibilities for creative development that can occur even in the face of large scale retrenchment. As a biologist, I would like to use a couple of biological metaphors to illustrate this point:

In the development of the limb in vertebrate embryos, the formation of digits (or fingers) occurs when the limb has reached the stage of a relatively simple cone or paddle shape. Creation of functional form is the result not primarily of incremental outgrowth of tissues that form digits, as one might expect, but of a "retrenchment" process, if you will, whereby the tissue in the interstices between the presumptive digits is eroded away, creating the sculptured confirmation typical of the limb involved—whether it be hand, foot or wing. Or to choose another example, in the familiar process of metamorphosis, surely one of the most intensively developmental periods in the life of an organism is when an insect larva or amphibian tadpole typically undergoes reductions in mass as great as 20-40% over the course of the transformation!

Perhaps it is irrelevant to use such far fetched metaphors to discuss institutional change. But two factors seem certain: 1) change is inevitable and 2) the available resources to accommodate change will not be sufficient. Our challenge is, therefore, to help guide and shape change, and to marshal the resources, human and fiscal, so that the possibilities for positive change are preserved, and our optimism is not crushed under the present press of problems that we continue to face.

It is natural in the face of resource problems that concern will focus on resource issues and extrinsic conditions—new markets, curricula to meet those markets, liaisons with business and with government, and the like. The topics covered in the following chapters are all critically important ones to consider for the future. An additional concern worth mentioning has to do with the need for concurrent renewal—revival, if you will—of some of our internal values and principles that I fear have been compromised. Let me illustrate my concern with a few examples:

- declining emphasis on the interdependence of teaching and research, and especially on the *equal* importance of teaching and research to the mission of the University. This relationship I fear has been compromised to some extent by the emphasis on sponsored research and the distortion of priorities and rewards that seems to go with the external intrusion of sponsoring agencies and unilateral interests into the affairs of the university;
- the *quantitative* emphasis on research productivity, often to the neglect of *content*, with the result that a great deal of inferior work is being published, and that *quantity* has been substituted for *substance* and *significance*. Much of what we do may be of little consequence intellectually or practically. Too often scholars today opt for the security of "following the herd" rather than risk delving into truly new and therefore uncertain intellectual ventures.

- the displacement of individual and institutional goals and objectives by the goals and standards of professional associations, and group norms—with the result that individuality and the prospect of opportunistic discovery are repressed—or at least not encouraged— and our intellectual lives are homogenized and often trivialized;
- excessive specialization and compartmentalization of knowledge that tends to discourage intellectual cross fertilization, and encourage parochial interests at the expense of institutional breadth and colleaguality.

In short, I am concerned about the intellectual climate, which unavoidably includes the social and structural dimensions of the university, and the potential that some of the trends that have been set into motion by external factors in the past few decades will diminish the character, mission and individuality of our universities. I am truly concerned that together with the aspect of renewal considered in the following pages, we must find ways with our faculties to reconsider and renew our commitment to the fundamental premises upon which colleges and universities are founded. Those values, after all, constitute the basic precept upon which we are founded and receive too little attention in the face of our current stresses.

PERSPECTIVES ON THE FUTURE OF HIGHER EDUCATION: OPPORTUNITIES FOR OPTIMISM

Howard R. Bowen

As I have reflected on the course of higher education over my lifetime, I have been impressed that the events which have exerted major impacts were on the whole unpredictable. In retrospect, the outcomes were quite different from what might have been anticipated. This history is what leads to questions about the current forecasts that are presented so positively and the current fashion for strategic planning. A quick review of the events of the past fifty years that have profoundly influenced higher education and preempted the attention of its faculties and administrators will support this observation.

There was of course the Great Depression. It was not generally predicted until long after it had arrived. Surprisingly, it had a favorable effect on education. The Depression was followed by World War II which put higher education into a holding pattern but resulted in the G.I. Bill. Then came the Cold War, the launching of Sputnik, and the widespread fear that America was "falling behind" the Soviet Union. Also there were numerous factors influencing enrollments including the fluctuating birth rate, the new student aid programs, the drive toward equality for minorities and women, the Viet Nam War, and the student revolts. Next came the rather sudden shift in the interest of students from general to vocational studies. Finally, the latest recent events were the inflation, the depression of 1982-83, the political drift toward conservatism, and most recent of all a great surge of public concern for education.

In this long list, hardly any item could have been predicted with any certainty. Indeed, the history I have sketched suggests that academic administration consists not of long-range planning based on reliable predictions, but of adjustment to a continual succession of surprises. Events came on at the rate of about three a decade. Their common element is that they were not predicted and probably not predictable. The one exception was the gyration of the birth rate which itself was certainly not predicted but which did provide a clue as to the number of 18-year old persons, eighteen years in the future. But even that bit of information did not predict enrollments. For example, we are already four years into the predicted decline in numbers of 18-year olds and enrollments have not fallen. These unexpected events or conditions were what preoccupied academic decision- makers. Planning occurred, but it was less than a dominant factor in the destiny of colleges and universities.

With this introduction and all the implied qualifications, I shall try to comment on the current position of higher education and the outlook in the years ahead. I plan to cover considerable ground, and to do so concisely through a series of brief propositions or observations without extended explanation.

Austerity/Opportunity. The first observation is not optimistic at all. There must not be a lost generation merely because society failed to finance our enterprise adequately. The immediate financial outlook is the least favorable since World War II, and perhaps the bleakest in this century. Yet, educators are duty-bound to keep open the door of opportunity for oncoming generations, and to prepare them for life in a complex and turbulent world. Despite all the protestations about financial cutbacks—the higher education community will not let the nation down, and so even this first proposition is in a sense optimistic.

Cost/Benefits. Obvious, but often overlooked, the second observation is straight-for-

ward. American higher education serves the nation well. There is ample evidence that its educational outcomes are worth what they cost. I tried to document this in *Investment in Learning* (1977), and it is as true today and tomorrow as it was in 1977. It is true of most institutions individually as well as of all collectively. Higher education fosters broad human development. It leads to competence in work, civic affairs, rearing of children, and in general coping with the problems of life in a complex industrial society. It generates a great deal of basic research and scholarship, provides many public services, maintains a vast corps of experts who are readily available to society, is a generous patron of the arts, is a prime source of public policy analysis, and preserves and advances the cultural heritage. Higher education is not perfect and it ought to be better—both in quality and in the range of opportunity it affords. But it is nevertheless an enterprise of great value on which society depends to a degree seldom understood. It is the responsibility of educators, even in moments of discouragement, to remember this fact and to persuade the public that in our society, education is the principal engine of social progress and higher education is a major part of that engine.

Public Attitudes. The third observation is also obvious and also often overlooked. It is that public attitudes toward higher education are on the whole favorable. Though attitudes are less euphoric and perhaps more realistic than they were in the 1950s and 1960s, colleges and universities are not forsaken by society. Study after study shows that the great majority of students and alumni are appreciative of their college experience. Similarly, most members of the general public express favorable attitudes toward higher education. For example, as recently as October, 1982, a carefully designed opinion survey revealed that 80 percent of Americans believe that "the opportunity to attend college should be made available to all qualified students." The same survey showed that citizens favor increased federal aid to higher education over spending for National defense. Moreover, a great majority favor continued aid to students and continued governmental support of academic research. A large majority (72.5 percent) think the overall quality of higher education is good or excellent and that quality is being maintained. Nine out of ten Americans think the things a person learns in college are important for later life (Group Attitudes Corporation, 1982). Chester Finn, an astute observer, has argued recently that "We are in the midst of an educational reform movement of epochal proportions. Its impetus comes not from the federal government or the profession but from the people." (Finn, 1983). Parents in particular indicate overwhelmingly that they hope and expect that their sons and daughters will attend college. But more convincing than what people say is what they do. Since 1970, when the so-called depression in higher education set in, the number of persons attending college increased from 8.6 to about 12.3 millions, a gain of 43 percent. There have been shifts in the composition of the student population (relatively more women, more older students, more part-time students). There has also been a slowing up of enrollment growth. But the overall numbers have been holding steady right up to 1982-83.

Financial Support. Society has also expressed its faith in higher education through its willingness to provide generous financial support. Since 1970, during what is alleged to be a depressed period, current revenues (per student in constant dollars) held remarkably steady despite accelerating inflation. Until 1977-78 the decline in revenues per student averaged less than 0.5 percent a year, and since 1977-78 when inflation became rampant,

the decline in real revenues per student was only about 2 or 3 percent a year. This performance is in sharp contrast to the experience in the earlier episodes of inflation in this century when revenues in real terms fell off drastically. Because the resources available for higher education (per student and in constant dollars) declined substantially over the past ten years, most institutions, in order to sustain their basic programs, were forced to economize. Not only did they cut frills, but they also reduced the real earnings of their faculty and staff by about 20 percent, deferred the maintenance of plant and facilities, and postponed needed program development. Many institutions found it necessary to modify their traditional missions and to compromise their academic standards in order to attract the students necessary to maintain tuition revenues and state appropriations. Today, institutions are operating with stringent budgets, but in most cases their position is not catastrophic or hopeless. There are great differences among institutions in their current levels of prosperity. Some are hanging on the ropes, some are just getting by, a few are prosperous, and all are anxious. However, there have been few bankruptcies and most of these have involved small and obscure private colleges which had never taken root. On the whole, colleges and universities are proving to be resilient institutions. So far there have been no episodes among them comparable to what happened to Penn- Central or Chrysler or International Harvester or Seattle First National Bank or Braniff Airways or Three Mile Island, or the utility consortium of the Pacific Northwest.

Even more striking has been the public outcry against the cutting of aid to students that caused the Federal Government to back away from the deep cuts that had been planned. Furthermore, the nation's leaders as well as the public are acknowledging that better education at all levels is essential if America is to maintain its military power in parity with the Soviet Union, if it is to maintain its productive capacity in competition with Japan and other Oriental nations, and if it is to contribute toward the advancement of culture at home and abroad. Indeed, the rising clamor about the state of education is almost a replay of the events surrounding Sputnik when fear of Soviet strength and foreign competition sparked a great revival of public interest in education and public willingness to support it. As the London *Economist* recently observed (May 7, 1983), "Military metaphor always helps one to be heard in Washington." The *Economist* might have added: when to the military metaphor is added the economic metaphor, the impact is overwhelming.

Still another relevant fact is that private giving to higher education is on the rise. The total for 1981-82 was 15 percent above that for 1980-81 (Council for Financial Aid to Education, 1983), and this trend is still upward despite the depression.

Higher Education Depression. The first four observations suggest that higher education has had a reasonably glorious history and has a solid base on which to build. But is higher education now poised on the edge of a precipice? It is indeed confronted with three disturbing developments. First, the number of young persons of traditional college age is expected to decline by about 25 percent over the next ten to fifteen years—more in some sections of the country than in others. Second, because of the economic depression, appropriations for higher education in real terms are being cut, sharply in some states. Third, the present federal government would still like to cut real appropriations for student aid, pure research (as distinguished from military and other applied research), and other educational purposes. These three developments could occur simultaneously; in combination, they could have a devastating impact. Certainly, the prospects ahead are worrisome.

The makings of a gigantic depression in higher education are all in place. But such a depression is not yet pre-ordained. Certainly it is not necessary for the economic and social health of the country as is so often alleged.

Enrollment Prospects. The sixth observation concerns enrollments. The United States has been engaged during the last 35 years in a major push to achieve what may be called *a nation of educated people*. We have reached the point that about 29 percent of all adults have been to college and about 16 percent have graduated. If college-going simply continued at the present rate, for another fifty years or so, about 47 percent would have attended and 28 percent would have graduated. These percentages are almost certainly far below the percentage of persons who would or could be qualified for college work. No one knows how many more people might be educable if various handicaps associated with childhood environment could be corrected. Moreover, the amount of education needed for life in a modern industrial economy and for participation in a modern culture steadily increases. Without belaboring the point, the amount of educational work to be done in our society is enormous—far beyond that now being done (Bowen, 1982). To retreat from the goal of widespread education when there is so much left to do would be irresponsible. Optimism should not extend, however, to arguing that because something can be shown to be socially needed that society will provide it. It can be argued, however, that the likelihood that it will be provided is greater when the need is demonstrable than when it is not.

In the next few decades, enrollments could conceivably increase over what they are today. There are plenty of uneducated people available. What actually happens depends on the kinds of education offered, on its convenience as to time and place, on the level of tuition and fees, on the forms and amounts of student aid, and on the cooperation and support of employers, and on what happens to selective service. It is not hard to imagine scenarios, with moderate and reasonable assumptions, in which either substantial increases or sizeable decreases in enrollment would occur. The range of possibilities is very great. What actually happens will depend on the policies of colleges and universities, state and federal governments, and employers, and not merely on birth rates or blind chance (Bowen, 1980).

Excess Capacity. A distinct possibility, of course, is that enrollments will decline and that the higher educational system will have excess capacity in the next few decades. If this should happen, the question arises: What should be done with the unused capacity? There are several possibilities. The first and most obvious one is to shut down the idle capacity by cutting back on faculty and staff, converting buildings to non-educational uses or mothballing them, closing selected public institutions, and allowing some private institutions to wither away. Most analysts think of these as the only consequences of idle capacity. But there are also urgent alternative uses for excess resources. They could be used to improve quality.

Quality may have slipped in several important ways during the past decade. Colleges and universities have become very large and suffer from the impersonality and bureaucratic mentality associated with size. The number of commuter students has increased relative to the number of residential students. The number of part-time students and part-time faculty has increased relative to the number of full-time faculty and students. And, perhaps most important, the excessive vocational interests of students and the extreme market orientation of institutions have resulted in narrowed vocational education, weaken-

ing of standards, and in some cases plainly fraudulent standards. I do not believe these trends can be wholly reversed, but I believe that colleges and universities should be trying to learn how to offset the slippage in quality. And in making this kind of compensatory effort, the resources freed through declining enrollments might be shifted toward improvement in quality.

But the question we now face is not whether enrollments might be maintained or whether idle capacity might be converted to increased quality; rather, it is the larger question of whether the nation can or will afford continued quantitative and qualitative advancement of higher education.

Societal Affluence. In judging what the nation can afford, it is necessary to consider its present economic and social position as it has emerged from the unparalleled social progress following World War II and continuing to the beginning of the current depression. On the economic front:

* Production per capita (after adjustment for inflation) nearly doubled.
* The average standard of living of the American people, by any known measure, doubled.
* Working conditions improved substantially.

These are only a few indications of *economic* progress. But higher education professionals would not need any more statistical indicators to realize that the country made enormous gains over the past thirty years. It would only be necessary to observe the millions of cars, the multitude of household appliances and electronic equipment, the elaborate clothing and jewelry, the beverages, the gambling, the Christmas shopping, the expensive vacations, the thousands of luxurious hotels and restaurants, the spectator sports, the elaborate recreations, the numbers traveling abroad, and so on to realize that America is enormously rich. Yet the country has talked itself into the belief that it is poor, and it is being run as though further growth in material production and armaments are the only worthwhile goals, that taxes should be cut, and that fundamental human services are luxuries that can be expected to bear the brunt of the effort to stop inflation.

Financial Priorities. It is now possible to turn to *social* indicators that reflect the tremendous progress of the nation in human terms over the post-war period from 1950 to 1980 when the new depression started:

* The distribution of income among families became significantly more equitable and incidence of poverty declined sharply.
* Important new beginnings were made in the conservation of natural resources and the protection of the air, water, and land.
* The average length of life increased by five years, and the general health of the people improved.
* Our society became demonstrably more humane as reflected in the support for health care, income maintenance, education at all levels, and other human service.
* The arts, science, and technology all flourished.
* The nation made a forward thrust in the status and welfare of women and of minority groups.
* Human freedom was expanded, human rights were extended, and workers and consumers were given new protections from accidents and from dangerous or noxious products.

* The nation made some great one-time achievements; for example, it launched the Marshall Plan and encouraged democracy in Japan. It overcame polio, invented the computer, harnessed nuclear energy, and developed molecular biology. And perhaps most dramatic of all, it landed on the moon and explored space.

These were on the whole fantastic gains and should arouse second thoughts among those who see the state of America darkly and view the future with apprehension. (For further discussion of these trends, see Bowen, 1982, Chapter 3 and Appendix A.) The rate of improvement may not have been equal to the potentialities, and some of the changes may be controversial, but the performance of the nation was by any count remarkable—especially when it is considered that it had already been very well off—both economically and socially—in the base year, 1950.

It is important to remember that scarcely any item in the long list of achievements would have been attainable without the immense development in higher education that occurred during the post-war period beginning with the G.I. Bill. Higher education provided the educated people necessary to achieve almost all of these gains, and it provided much of the essential basic research. Perhaps more important, our colleges and universities were centers radiating the values and the motives that underlay the great social achievements of the post-war era.

I do not mean to minimize our economic and social problems. Obviously, we should grapple with them. But in rich America, it is not necessary to withdraw resources from our fundamental institutions and services to deal with these immediate economic problems. Especially is this so when it is realized that the United States has one of the lowest overall tax burdens of all the advanced industrial countries of the world. In the U.S., taxes take about 30 percent of the GNP, in all major European democracies, the corresponding percentage is around 40 percent (Bureau of the Census, 1981, p. 880).

Changing Economic Policies. There is no doubt that the United States is caught in an economic vise. The recent policy of the nation has been, simultaneously, to increase defense spending, to cut taxes, and to stop inflation. The only possible outcome of this absurd economic policy is that the burden would fall on those agencies that serve the betterment of our people and the advancement of our culture—among them higher education. What the nation clearly needs and could well afford is increased tax revenue. It is needed both to stop inflation and to support essential public services. Moreover, a temporary period of regrouping and consolidation of human service programs is called for. It is a time to concentrate on efficiency and quality as well as growth. But it is not necessary in affluent America to dismantle decades of social progress by reckless and exorbitant slashing of budgets.

A time of retrenchment constitutes a threat to institutional integrity and academic freedom. Individual institutions—their boards, their leaders, and their faculties—need wide latitude in managing whatever retrenchment proves necessary. They are in the best position to minimize permanent damage.

Retrenchment Strategies. The internal management of decline is bound to be administratively difficult and hard on the morale of institutions. There are no easy solutions compatible with the traditions and values of higher education. Moreover, given that the crisis comes on the heels of more than a decade of slow retrenchment involving much deferred maintenance of physical plant and declining real income of faculty and staff,

there are few luxuries and little waste left to be cut out of the customary operations of our institutions.

One response to the demand for retrenchment is to search once more for comparatively innocuous kinds of cuts such as curtailing plant maintenance, reducing energy use, cutting faculty assistance and travel, etc. Another response is to try to replace lost revenues with new sources; for example, increased enrollments, increased tuition and fees, bank loans to finance student aid, solicitation of gifts from private sources, and profit-making activities such as research institutes, conferences, land development, etc. Wadham College of Oxford has openly sold two places in its entering class to a Hong Kong millionaire for L500,000. The new flirtation of colleges and universities with major business firms is a more important example. I daresay that institutions here and there will improve their financial position through these kinds of expenditure-cutting and revenue replacement. But I doubt if these expedients will be generally useful for the simple reason that during the past decade, many institutions have already been resorting to them and there is little additional mileage to be gained from them. Moreover, many of these expedients are not really conducive to the maintenance or improvement of educational quality. Yet there is no doubt that some of the entrepreneurs among us will generate important new revenues through these services.

Equity in Reduction. Beyond these expedients, further retrenchment must come largely from the reduction of payroll—either through the cutting of numbers or the cutting of pay scales. Generally, it is assumed that the preferred solution is to cut numbers. This, however, raises many issues of fairness as among administrators, faculty, and service employees, and as between tenured and non-tenured faculty. It also may involve the abrogation of tenure which is a denial of a moral obligation and a threat to academic freedom whether or not it represents the breaking of a legal contract. Among the many strategies for retrenchment, a simpler and fairer solution, if the needed cuts are not too drastic, is an across-the-board reduction in all categories of expenditure including staff compensation (Bowen, 1983). This would leave tenure intact, it would treat all staff members fairly, it would not destroy careers, and it would be self-correcting through pay increases in better times. It was essentially the solution that was followed during the Great Depression of the early 1930s. The across-the-board cut would have other advantages. It would leave the institutions in a position to use redundant resources to rectify the decline in quality of education that has occurred in recent years. It would also enable institutions to keep younger non-tenured people on their faculties. Moreover, through shared sacrifice, the academic community would be strengthened. Faculty and staff would have an opportunity to express their commitment to the vocation of teaching and scholarship. Doubtless, some staff members would leave or retire early, but they would do so by their own choice and not as a result of the accident of who has tenure or who is judged to be dispensable.

In conclusion, I want to express guarded optimism about the future of American higher education. I recognize that a temporary slowing of growth in social services, and a temporary period of regrouping and consolidation of efforts, is likely. I also recognize that it is time to concentrate on efficiency and quality in the delivery of our various social services. But my training as an economist tells me that in rich America it is not necessary to dismantle thirty years of enormous social progress and to stop further social gains that are urgently needed. I think it is becoming more evident daily that the American public is

not going to stand idly by and watch the carefully fashioned educational institutions of our society, built with great effort and sacrifice, disintegrate.

Finally, I must return to my opening theme to the effect that there are likely to be surprises which are not now foreseen. One can think of deep depression, great prosperity, hyper-inflation, universal selective service, outright war (even a nuclear holocaust), a McCarthy-like attack on academic freedom, a change in the birth rate, the return of students to liberal education, a renewed egalitarian thrust, a return of elitist attitudes, and so on. But the surprises are more likely to be changes that we do not dream of today, and they may be either favorable or unfavorable.

In looking toward the future, which is always inscrutable, I believe one should not try to achieve a single forecast but rather should try to judge the *range of possibilities* which is always very wide. This approach avoids the great danger of self-fulfilling prophesies and also the great danger of critical errors.

There is an underlying stability to higher education. The fads and fashions, the environmental changes, the efforts toward innovation do not produce instantaneous or dramatic changes in higher education. The weatherman will be right 80 percent of the time if he assumes that tomorrow's weather will be the same as today's. The economist will be right most of the time if he assumes that next year's economy will be very much like this year's. And the educator will be right if he assumes that higher education in the next decade will be very like that in the present decade.

As Peter Magrath once said, "He who lives by the crystal ball will soon learn to eat glass."

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DECLINE, NEW DEMANDS, AND QUALITY: AN INSTITUTIONAL AGENDA FOR RENEWAL

Marvin W. Peterson

It has been four years since Ken Mortimer's insightful monograph, *The Three Rs of the 1980's* (1979), made "reduction, reallocation and retrenchment" the catchwords of higher education as we entered this decade. Recognizing the realities of resource decline, our attention has been focused on the "three Rs" at program, institutional, and state or system level (Mingle, 1981; Melchiori, 1982), and we have learned a great deal about coping with decline.

However, as we reach the middle of this decade, resources continue to be scarce or declining while higher education is being thrust into the limelight and asked to respond to a variety of new societal conditions and changes. Concerns about lagging productivity, revolutions in technology, changing demography patterns, and emerging human resource development needs among others are becoming new demands which are reshaping our rationale for higher education and our expectations for it.

The seeming incongruity of coping with resource decline and responding to new demands is heightened by another contextual issue: our renewed concerns for excellence; for improving performance and quality. The issue has been raised clearly at the institutional level as budgets tighten and critical choices are made. At the state level, efficiency and accountability—the issues of the 1970's—have refocused on questions of appropriateness, effectiveness and quality of programs and institutions (ECS, 1980). Although higher education's concerns for quality precede and are somewhat independent of those at the elementary and secondary level, the Report of the National Commission on Excellence has refueled those discussions in higher education. As we face this crucible of conflicting resources, new demands, and the press for quality, we now hear discussions of the need for institutional renewal or revitalization—vague concepts with illusive substance.

Against this backdrop, a two-fold concern must be examined: 1) that resource decline can led to organizational decline or stagnation and 2) that we may have become so absorbed with the *Three Rs* that, in many of our institutions, it has become an institutional life style that has taken on symbolic meaning. From that perspective, calls for institutional renewal which respond to new demands with improved quality may be little more than platitudes. Institutional renewal requires a more focused agenda—a set of organizational development tasks that supports institutional renewal while realistically reflecting: 1) what institutions have learned about managing declining resources, 2) what we realistically expect from our future higher education environment, and 3) what we know about the long term effects of resource decline on organizations. A brief examination of these questions suggests a renewal agenda for preventing resource decline from drifting into institutional decline or stagnation so institutions can respond effectively to new demands.

Lessons from Resource Decline

From the higher education literature, it is apparent that we have already learned a good deal about reduction, reallocation, and retrenchment. Compared to other industries with extensive layoffs, plant closures, and bankruptcies, one could argue that higher education has managed this process better than private business which is often portrayed as the model or paragon of effective management which colleges and universities are supposed to emulate.

For example, administrators have learned to manage a reduction process in a manner which reflects the reality of our current environment, which is legal, and which attempts to take a long range view while minimizing the immediate negative consequences and reductions. They know it is critical to *create an awareness* in the institution of the need for reduction or retrenchment. They know it is important to *establish an overall strategy* which identifies the institutional purpose for or objectives of the reduction, the major emphases or priorities (shared poverty or selective reductions, etc.), a process that reflects the institution's traditions and the nature of the reduction demands, and the major modes or tactics of reduction and reallocation (budgetary, program review, etc.) to be used.

In order to *improve acceptance*, and it will never be fully accepted, administrators know it will be necessary to involve many constituencies in clarifying the purpose and process, to take steps to establish credibility and trust, and to communicate continuously and effectively. In *implementing such a process* they have learned the importance of consultation with affected parties, of the need to consider realistic (even if severe) ranges of reduction, about the use and misuse of data, of the need to clarify deliberation time and decision responsibility, to focus debate on the real issues, and to communicate decisions and their rationale.

College and University administrators also know a *great deal about techniques*, which are useful but are also often given undue attention as decision makers avoid critical, substantive decision issues. Enrollment forecasting and planning, resource forecasts and allocation models, faculty and student flow models, decremental budgeting strategies, program audit and review processes, retention and attrition studies, need and demand studies, and program retrenchment and layoff policies are all examples of techniques. Administrators know about all of these things—whether they do them well is, of course, always open to debate.

One might conclude that knowing how to manage a reduction without substantial disruption until life returns to a more normal state should allow administrators to cope with the new demands. However, that is not likely for two reasons: first, the environment may not allow a quick return to stable resources; and second, the higher education literature has not yet examined the long term implications of resource decline (although it has done so in other fields) and the long term effects of current responses to decline.

The Environment: A Continued Era of Limits

While environmental forecasting is an uncertain and dangerous preoccupation as Dr. Bowen noted, most evidence would suggest that for the next five years at least the condition of higher education is not likely to be stable let alone recapture lost abundance. A brief review of eight dimensions of the higher education environment highlights this.

First, the *demographic* projections of declining traditional college age enrollments are irrefutable. David Breneman's AGB Report on the topic featured in *Change* (1982) highlights this factor. The range is from no growth to 35% declines in some states. Even with favorable changes in traditional attendance rates and increases in older, minority, or part-time students, most institutions and regions could only hope to stay even. Hodgkinson's recent article, "Guess Who's Coming to College", offered good insights into the changing characteristics of future enrollments—especially minorities. But attracting many of these groups requires changes in programs and delivery systems.

Second, despite more favorable news on the *economy*, predictions are for slow recovery. Unstable world conditions, high unemployment rates, sagging productivity, and international competition in several industries suggest that overflowing government coffers or expanded personal incomes to meet increasing costs in higher education are unlikely. There are also other constraints on governmental support such as continued public resistance to tax increases and other high priority state and federal government demands (unemployment, mass transportation, urban decay, social security, social programs, military priorities, elementary and secondary education, etc.). Expanded financial resources are unlikely for most institutions. While sagging economic productivity along with unemployment has provided a popular rationale for higher education's role in human capital development, especially in career and work related programs, these conditions change rapidly and are often transitory.

Third, *labor market* shifts and unemployment are both a result of economic problems and of people's desire for self-improvement. This is true in many professions—especially in higher education where more faculty (new and veteran) are pitted against each other for fewer positions. Professional career opportunities are clearly limited and likely to improve only slowly.

Fourth, the recent emphasis on a more limited *federal role* in higher education and the shift of educational programs to the states, leaves higher education with great uncertainty about the nature and source of *governmental support and control*. At the state level, with but few exceptions, budgets are squeezed. The response most often is for greater accountability and tighter controls on budgets and more intensive review of new and existing programs. There is also considerable agitation to review state level governance and coordinating structures for higher education. The direction of state government control is not clear and is in a state of ferment.

Fifth, our renewed interest in *business-higher education* relationships, while visible and appealing, offers as many demands as prospects. Partnerships in education and training may garner potential students but often require new career-oriented programs and new delivery systems. Partnerships in research and development, which could provide research support, involve complex contracts or third party corporate agreements, sizable capital investments, and new working relationships. Competition for "biological belts" and "robotics ridges" to rival "silicone valley" is intense. They may be important ventures, but the payoffs are in the distant future. Partnerships of business, government, and higher education for state or regional economic development planning also may be valuable but demand participation by higher education staff in a complex political development activity in which the payoffs are long term. The message is limited short- term relief and significant new program development and administrative commitments.

Sixth, concerns about *technological* changes in information processing and telecommunications, the "time of the parenthesis" as John Naisbitt calls the rapid transition from an industrial to an information era, add further demand for changes in academic computer literacy of faculty and students and for new educational programs and delivery systems.

Seventh, in the *legal sector* institutions may be gaining some degree of freedom with the current interest in government deregulation. However, court rulings on cases involving individuals—especially during reduction— continue to demand many forms of procedural formalization in personnel matters.

Finally, the *competition* among higher educational institutions may be increasing. Stu-

dent aid problems, the ability of students to pay for the costs of education, underutilized institutions, and potential competition from business and industry all reinforce competition both within higher education and with other education providing institutions as enrollments decline.

This brief scenario, even if incomplete and not very accurate, suggests that, for the near future, higher education faces an increasingly complex environment in which its principal resources, students and money, are likely to continue to decline or be constrained; demands for new programs and delivery systems are changing and extensive (indeed expectations for us are again high); professional career opportunities will be limited for faculty; and the strain between competition, coordination, and control is likely to continue among institutions and between institutions and government agencies. Internally, continued limited resources and stress on procedural formalization will continue to push institutional governance toward formal/rational or political rather than consensual or collegial patterns and increased coordination and centralization may occur. The academic change process will require the reallocation of resources which continue to be constrained or declining.

An Organizational Renewal Agenda

Given these environmental conditions, the likely continuation of scarce or declining resources and the institutional implications, it is critical that we begin to focus on the long term effects of resource decline and identify an organizational development strategy or agenda for promoting renewal and preventing institutional stagnation—a more critical and irresponsible mode of decline. Fortunately, the literature on complex organizations suggests several patterns of the long term effects of resource decline which are helpful in building a renewal agenda for colleges and universities (Cameron & Zammuto, 1983; Whetten, 1980 and 1981; Zammuto, 1982).

Two findings—that resource decline can induce greater efficiency and that it creates strain among and between organizational units and levels— are obvious and have already been addressed by higher education. Increasing efficiency, doing "more with less", has been the focus of higher education for over a decade. And, our recent attention to "rationalizing reduction processes" reflects our concern with strain produced by the process. Other insights from our experience consistent with findings from the literature suggest four broad renewal areas.

- Redefinition of Mission
- Rethinking Leadership and Organizational Models
- Reintegrating Organizational Processes
- Revitalizing Members

There are also three areas I would add from personal observations:

- Reparations
- Recuperation and Repatriation
- Recommitment

In each area I think we have learned much that helps in anticipating the longer term effects of resource decline. The seven "Rs" of renewal may suggest how much more difficult it is than the three "Rs" that govern decline!

Redefinition of Mission

The literature suggests that resource reduction can stimulate organizational redirection although this is more extensive in the private than in the public sector. Clearly, institutions of higher education do respond with different strategies. Some intensify their efforts around their primary mission, a few change radically, but most, either inadvertently or deliberately, redefine their missions. While most colleges and universities lack the flexibility of business firms to change their location, functions, product lines or clientele extensively, many achieve modification by what they choose to eliminate, by reallocation of priorities, by conscious choice to pursue new ventures, or by state level mandates. The patterns of modification are now becoming discernible and their long term success is being subjected to evaluation. However, what higher education institutions are learning about the importance of "strategic choice" and of "institutional vision" in this redefinition of mission under conditions of resource decline may be most useful.

Strategic Choice. "Strategic choice," not planning, is used deliberately. Although not intended, planning—whether viewed as a set of techniques, an office or structure, a plan or document, or an institutional process—has suffered from being rational, static, and conservative.

Strategic choice refers to those decisions which a) link the organization to the environment, b) affect or have consequences for a large segment of the organization, c) require a substantial commitment of institutional energy or resources to accomplish, and d) are not easily reversed once implemented. Decisions about clientele, service region, institutional functions, program mix and priorities, locations, delivery systems or major staffing patterns are well known examples of strategic choice. Strategic choices do assume some examination and consideration of environmental conditions, an institutional assessment, and the values or interests of various constituencies. But the perspective is important. Environmental conditions are viewed not as trends — they are constraints and opportunities; institutional assessments are not general strengths and weaknesses—they are potential capacities; the values of constituents are not just patterns of support or resistance—they are sources of ideas, potential for compromise, and groups to convince. The decision process may be rational, political or consensual. But, more important, strategic choices are never purely rational. They have extensive value dimensions, are concerned with future implications, involve risk taking, and reflect significant commitments.

In the past, such decisions in higher education involved growth or expansion and were either much easier, were avoided, or were made in increments. But under conditions of resource decline "strategic choices" are brought into focus, become more visible, and often require immediate action. In our current milieu, institutional leaders seem more willing to make such choices, faculty and staff are more willing to participate in or support them, and staff are more willing to think strategically about the overall and long term impact of decisions than just their immediate personal consequences.

Some examples may suffice. As enrollments sag, many institutions are examining their potential student clientele and asking who they want to attract. In reducing or eliminating programs, most institutions give consideration to the uniqueness of the program and its impact on the rest of the institution if closed. To assure student ability to pay, some state systems and individual institutions are selling bonds to underwrite loan programs. To take

advantage of the micro-computer revolution and the current competitive market in that industry some institutions such as Carnegie-Mellon are investing to increase student access while others like the University of Colorado are developing plans to underwrite faculty purchases of their own equipment.

Strategic choices—broad scale commitments that link institutional and environmental concerns in opportunistic ways that redefine mission—are extensive and an important feature of response to decline. The strategic choice process deserves considerable attention as institutions with limited resources seek to redefine missions and increase organizational viability.

Institutional Vision. "Strategic choices" also involve a more subtle, but no less important feature of the mission redefinition process: the restatement of an "institutional vision". Many faculty and staff work in colleges and universities either because the higher education profession and its implicit values are important to them or because they value the purposes or ideologies embedded within their institution's mission. As the institution suffers resource decline, individuals become concerned about the institutional direction and its implications for both their professional and institutional identity. This is exaggerated when many strategic choices are being made— to give up one activity, to reallocate or consolidate another, to start a new activity. The mosaic of choices may confuse many about where the institution is going. The call for "institutional vision" is for a statement of the redefined mission in a way that gives the participants a renewed sense of the importance of the field of higher education, of the role of their institution in the field, and of the redefined mission. Institutional vision combines a scenario, a plan, and an institutional leadership style which stresses "more than survival". It provides faculty and staff with a positive reason to make the personal and professional commitment to the institution despite the resource constraints.

Rethinking Leadership and Organizational Models

The literature notes that resource decline may require new patterns of leadership, may reinforce more conservative behavior, and may lead to an emphasis on efficiency rather than effectiveness. It also suggests a need to rethink some of our organizational models.

New Leadership and Administrative Patterns. The discussion of strategic choice and institutional vision provides an obvious insight about leadership patterns: we may be entering an era in which both "strategic management" and "visionary" leadership skills are desired. Historically, we had images of "institution builders" in the 1950s, "participatory leaders" in the early 1960s, "political negotiators" in the late 60s, "rational or technocratic managers" in the 1970s, and "tough-minded managers" in the recent budget reduction era. Such labels are simplistic but reflect the needs of our institutions at different times.

If the "strategic manager/visionary leader" is our current ideal, it is a difficult one. The first assumes leadership with a) an analytic understanding of the whole institution and of its environment by an individual who is skilled in strategic management (i.e., identifying strategic issues, coordinating the strategic decision process, and organizing and implementing plans). George Keller's book on *Academic Strategy* (1983) describes this role well. The second assumes an educational statesman who personifies the values or commitment of the institution, can state and defend its redefined mission, and has the capacity to

institutionalize that commitment despite resource shortages. The role is, no doubt, overstated but reflects the problem of balancing the strategic management of the changing organization-environment relationship while reassuring the commitment of diverse groups during resource decline.

In a more practical but positive vein, experience suggests that, while resource decline can lead to conservative or safe responses, it may also make management more acceptable. For example, program closures are often avoided in order not to upset faculty or to show ineptness to external constituencies. Today, when weak or unneeded programs are closed, faculty are more willing to accept this consequence as a signal that the institution is well managed. This is not to suggest that dictatorial procedures or styles are in vogue—rather that the academic administrator, who identifies difficult problems, sees that important issues are addressed, hears differing views, presses for action and then sees that changes are implemented, can do so with some degree of confidence.

The explanation of this change may be obvious. There is often resistance, and confusion when resources decline. Once the period of decline is past, most faculty and staff come to realize that the resource declines are real, that critical decisions need to be made, that unrealistic or prolonged conflicts are counter-productive. A good manager keeps those periods of uncertainty and conflict to a tolerable level and may absorb much of the controversy that difficult decisions entail. In a sense, it is better to be in a well managed unit with some constraints than to live in constant turmoil.

New Organizational Models. The literature finding that resource reduction often leads to an overemphasis on efficiency suggests a need to rethink organizational as well as administrative models. Administrators and review teams have often been concerned about issues of effectiveness, quality, educational rationale, and mission relatedness in resource reductions. In the press for decisions, however, administrators often become frustrated with their inability to link these issues to resources. Efficiency issues of need and demand, duplication, and cost per unit (degree, credit hour) as well as political factors come to dominate. A large part of the problem, I would suggest, is that organizational theories and models are eclectic and inconsistent.

They are eclectic because researchers and writers have successively borrowed organizational bureaucracy, collegial, professional, political, and public bureaucracy models to describe and analyze higher education. They have also overlaid open-systems theory and inserted temporary-adaptive and theories X, Y, and Z as well. They have argued the appropriateness of each over two decades as colleges and universities have passed through eras with successive problems of growth, participation, pressure groups, uncontrolled proliferation, and rising costs. As a model, only organized anarchy emerged primarily from higher education although each has some validity.

Theorists are inconsistent in continuously arguing for models developed in other organizational sectors while maintaining that higher education is really different from business, government, hospitals, the military. Yet, in addressing the problems of decline, none of the models are designed to deal with educational issues. This suggests it may be time to seriously rethink our organizational models. Our experience with decline suggests four possible characteristics of such a model.

First, it might begin with the assumption that colleges and universities are "learning organizations." Their business is enhancing student learning, faculty learning about field content and the promotion of learning, and administrative learning about how to promote

learning environments. If administrators were more inclined to think of colleges and universities in these terms, they might take more seriously the need to translate resource reduction issues into concerns for impact on learning.

Second, the model should give greater attention to learning outcomes or improvement. Astin has long complained that administrators give too little attention to this dimension; resource reduction brings this issue into focus. Qualitative dimensions almost always focus on faculty and student characteristics with little attention to performance, outcomes, or improvement.

Third, the model should probably emphasize dimensions which represent the ways in which colleges and universities are unique. Clearly, in such a model elements which differentiate the culture—the patterns, values, and attitudes members hold about their work and work environment—would probably be a major focus. Fourth, the relationship of the institution to its environment and the linkage of resources to learning should play a more critical role than in borrowed models.

Such a model may possess dimensions of some or all of our current models. Given the critical nature of strategic decisions when resources are limited, we need an organizational model that reflects what higher education is really like—not just a partial adaptation.

Reintegrating Organizational Processes

Two additional observations about the effects of resource decline are its tendency to remove organizational slack (loss of flexible resources and of coordinating mechanisms) and to centralize decisions. The first reflects a form of horizontal disintegration and the second a form of vertical disintegration that can reduce an institution's capacity to innovate and to sustain membership commitment. This suggests a concern for reintegration.

Coordination. The coordination issue has both an administrative and an academic component. In budget reductions, the tendency to eliminate "assistant to" positions, staff support offices (e.g., planning, program development, faculty development), funds for meetings and retreats, and to consolidate offices is often justified as eliminating duplication or improving efficiency. But important activities that support innovation and change often go undone or assigned to an already overloaded office.

On the academic side, there is evidence that interdisciplinary or joint programs, joint faculty appointments, and funds for exploring and developing new areas that do not fit existing departmental or college structures are hard to maintain as each unit focuses on what is essential. Yet there is ample evidence that these mechanisms have been useful in supporting innovation and change. This suggests that academic and administrative coordinating mechanisms need to be assessed, not just in terms of the current need for the activity, but also in terms of its contribution to the institution's ability to respond to new administrative demands and new academic program needs.

Centralization/Decentralization. The tendency of higher educational institutions to centralize decisions during resource decline is readily apparent. New budget priority or review committees supercede existing structures. Discontinuance or reduction decisions, because they are controversial, are reviewed at higher levels than new program decisions. Expenditure decisions (travel, salary changes, etc.) that were made at one level are often routinized or mandated by policies from higher levels. In many instances the decisions are justified as formerly independent units become increasingly interdependent. For example,

when business school enrollment increase begins to force down the liberal arts enrollment and/or strengthens a claim to a larger share of the allocation of a fixed general fund, administrators begin to centrally manage enrollments of previously independent units.

Such patterns of centralization, introduced during a budget crisis, may not make sense in more normal times and can lead to conflicts in jurisdiction and future problems. Also, centralization without opportunity for affected units to participate may work in crisis but in more stable times may undermine commitment. It is important to reexamine shifting patterns of decision making after the early rounds of budget decline and to revise them if necessary. Thus, reintegration of coordinating and decision making patterns may be a necessary step to retaining institutional vigor.

Revitalizing Faculty

The final observation from the literature about the effects of resource decline is that it increases stress and may cause some of the most innovative faculty and administrators to leave. This suggests the need to give strong attention to the areas of faculty, administrative, and staff revitalization. Increases of stress are difficult to measure and assess and clearly some can be productive. However, the effects of long term resource decline and stress which are beyond faculty members' control are likely to be counter-productive.

Faculty are subjected to several stress inducing forces. As individuals, most faculty are committed to their profession and have high performance expectations for themselves. Their activity and performance level expectations do not diminish as resources and support services decline. Objectively, workload may increase—often in the form of more teaching, less secretarial support, and more demands to develop new programs—while salary and other compensation is stagnating. As professionals, their opportunity structures are usually diminished since there are fewer opportunities for promotion, professional rewards and to change institutions. Organizationally, the persistence of budget cutting discussions and rumors often creates an aura of institutional uncertainty for the individual or for the collective faculty. The tendency of academic units to focus on central purposes diminishes interdisciplinary opportunities and innovative activities. Individualized efforts are more difficult due to curricula reviews and the intensive, often arduous, program development processes which are introduced to deal with reallocation needs. The tendency to centralize decisions delimits the faculty sense of influence and control.

This scenario for faculty is obviously overstated. But the demand for new and responsive academic programs requires faculty who are flexible, innovative, willing to take risks, and committed to the institution. Yet many forces push in the direction of overload, bureaucratization, isolation, and loss of control and influence. The potential for increased frustration and loss of morale is great.

Answers are not always clear, but ideas for revitalization from the preceding discussion include the following:

1. Faculty need to understand the positive direction and commitment of the institution's redefined mission.
2. Faculty involvement in governance and in the strategic choice process may need to be redesigned.
3. Faculty and units that are not likely to be negatively affected need to be identified and reassured.

4. Mechanisms which reward and support faculty participation in innovative ventures need to be maintained despite pressures.
5. Faculty support systems (secretarial, library, equipment, etc.) need to be minimally acceptable.
6. Whenever possible, provision for adding new faculty should be maintained.

The bottom line is perhaps two heresies. First, to accomplish some of these objectives additional faculty reductions may be needed to gain flexibility for redirection. This should be considered in developing reduction strategies. Second, we may be concentrating too much attention on faculty who are to be eliminated. While this is necessary and humane, the institution needs to show at least as much concern for those who will stay. They are the majority and, in most institutions, will be around for some time. The maintenance and revitalization of a productive, committed faculty may be the most important single task for prevention of stagnation. Concern for the quality of faculty work life which undergirds morale and commitment deserves serious attention.

The next two renewal agenda items are personal observations reflecting the experience of several institutions where resource reductions have been unusually severe, sudden or acrimonious.

Reparations

While many colleges and universities have done a good job handling resource reductions, institutions have had to re-educate themselves and to invent new reduction strategies and approaches. Many have done so without major disruptions. However, in the process many have made mistakes which only become apparent later. Several examples come to mind: the academic program which is severely reduced but later discovered to play a key role in servicing other units; the programs which are to be maintained but lose key faculty because of the reduction pressures; the programs that are not cut sufficiently because short-term demand clouds long-term judgements. Long-term deprivation of maintenance, equipment, library, secretarial support and other administrative budgets are non-academic examples that can suddenly undermine academic quality and responsiveness.

Such mistakes occur for many reasons: the lack of a well organized reduction process, the political pressures or irrationality of forced choice situations, the overemphasis on traditional priorities, or the incomplete nature of information on the multiple criteria used for reduction decisions. The intent should be neither to decry the mistakes nor to use Naval Intelligence to place blame. Rather we need to view such errors as a normal outgrowth of difficult reduction periods. The institution that is serious about renewal will identify such needs in its priorities for reallocation and make reparations when needed.

Recuperation and Repatriation

A problem, which may reflect the observation in the literature about increased stress, is staff recuperation and repatriation. This concern is not primarily directed at the career administrator who should understand the realities of reduction nor that administrator who revels in reduction as a means of institutional redirection. The concern is the effects on people in academic administrative roles (particularly deans, department chairs, directors of special programs or research units), who did not intend to embark on full-time admin-

istrative careers, and who planned to contribute their time to improving their units, but found themselves serving during periods of prolonged budget reduction.

At a minimum the increased workload of reviews, budget hearings, staff meetings, and negotiations involved in implementing reductions often severely limits academic and scholarly development—particularly for individuals in mid-career. More often, prolonged crisis leads to strains between faculty and administrators. Academic administrators in these pivotal, middle levels are caught—unable to fulfill faculty expectations of little or no reduction and forced to limit expenditures and reduce staff while still trying to give leadership to a disappointed faculty.

Some handle these burdens well, but many do not. After serving for a period of time, they may become frustrated and ineffective, academically out- of-touch with their field and/or professionally isolated from their colleagues. Again, this syndrome may be overstated; but if it occurs frequently enough, it can be a serious roadblock to academic vitality for a significant part of the faculty and the potential loss of a valuable colleague who may have a significant portion of his or her career ahead.

Again, prescriptions are not easy. Improved programs of administrative development, specified administrative terms, and other procedural solutions come to mind. However, recognition of the phenomenon by both central administration and the faculty and the willingness to "respect" a colleague who has served in a particularly difficult transitional period may be the best antidote.

Recommitment: The Personal Dimension

Institutional renewal may also require an individual response. The previous issues—redefinition of mission, rethinking organizational and leadership models, reintegration of key organizational processes, revitalizing faculty, making reparations, and providing recuperation, repatriation and respect for those who served—are all signs of organizational recommitment to maintaining the vitality of the institution. But there is also a personal dimension for administrators and faculty alike: "recommitment", the simple act of reminding ourselves that we are doing something worthwhile and that higher education is an important enterprise in which to make our vocation.

When most of us entered the higher education profession, we did not anticipate resource limitations much less the effects of prolonged reductions or sudden intense cuts. It is important to recognize that we are still in one of the most highly respected professions in this country; that there are significant expectations for the role higher education can and should play; that we are one of the industries that still rates well in the international scene; and that, despite our current disappointments, the challenges ahead are significant opportunities.

Kahlil Gibran in *The Prophet* captured well the nature of our business and of our commitment:

"And the priestess spoke again and said:
Speak to us of Reason and Passion.
And he answered saying:
Your reason and your passion are the
rudder and the sails of your seafaring soul.
If either your sails or your rudder be

broken, you can but toss and drift, or else
be held at standstill in mid-seas.
For reason, ruling alone, is a force con-
fining; and passion, unattended, is a flame
that burns to its own destruction.
Therefore let your soul exalt your reason
to the height of passion, that it may sing;
And let it direct your passion with
reason, that your passion may live through
its own daily resurrection, and like the
phoenix rise above its own ashes."

For the past two decades, higher education has struggled with this balance. The emphasis on reason in the 1950s, the passion of student revolts and issues of the 1960s, the rational managerial response of the 1970s, and the renewed passions as our resources and our desires clash today. On each campus we passionately debate priorities because we believe strongly in the contribution of all areas of knowledge and struggle for reason in our process of redirection and reduction. The issues ahead are laden with intense values affecting higher education. What is our role in world wide issues of hunger, resource distribution and politics? What is our role at home in our commitment to minorities, to urban decay, to energy debates, and to economic needs? How will we deal with campus issues of affirmative action, of the balance of science and technology versus humanities and social sciences, of professional versus general education, of relationships to defense research and to business and industry, and of our response to the information and telecomputer revolution? These issues demand a recommitment and provide an opportunity to use both our "Reason" and our "Passion."

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USING EXTERNAL INFORMATION IN PLANNING: SOME TOOLS FOR EXPANDING VISION AND ENHANCING STRATEGIC THINKING

Richard B. Heydinger

Today many pundits are arguing that society is undergoing a fundamental restructuring. We are moving from an industrial economy to an information or service economy. We are told that "heterarchy" more than hierarchy will dominate; that quality will be more important than quantity; and that decentralization more than centralization will be the norm. As educators, we worry about the declining segment of 18-22 year olds. Moreover, when we hear statistics which report more students enrolled in a free university than in the state's major public institution, we sense that fundamental shifts are occurring. Thus it is not surprising that educators feel uncertain about the future.

As we struggle to deal with this changing set of conditions and cope with institutional planning, we often respond by lamenting, "They don't understand our mission and purpose." We are confident that if only the public or the state legislature better understood the true nature of higher education they would obviously move to assist our institutions.

At the same time educators sense that these periods of upheaval are also periods of great opportunity. Yet, if we are to ride this rising tide of change, we need vision . . . strategic vision which clearly outlines a contemporary mission for our institutions. The planning tools outlined in this paper are intended to expand our thinking and assist us in arriving at a strategic vision which is both consistent with the strengths of higher education institutions and works *with* rather than against the everchanging environmental conditions.

*Embracing Uncertainty.*If faculty and administrators are to cope effectively with a rapidly changing environment, they must recognize that indeed the future is unpredictable. Previous stages of higher education and organizational planning have ignored this seemingly obvious fact. It was only ten years ago that college executives believed forecasts would someday be sophisticated enough to predict even small perturbations in the environment. This belief was debunked when the Arab oil embargo rendered useless the forecasts of the petroleum companies, which at the time had developed the most advanced modeling capabilities.

Strategic planning and related planning approaches rest on the simple and seemingly obvious assumption that the future is unpredictable. Not only is it unpredictable, but it is also "hazy." This runs counter to the "academic outlook" which carries with it the implicit assumption that all statements of probability are statements made out of ignorance. Our training has taught us that if the funds were available to conduct enough research studies we could reduce the level of uncertainty to zero.

Strategic planning approaches not only recognize that the future is unpredictable but they embrace the turbulence of contemporary society. They reach beyond the boundaries of colleges and universities to collect information from the "external environment." This information is then systematically incorporated into the planning process to improve the futurity of today's decisions. In so doing, colleges are 1) expanding the range of alternatives which the institution considers as it weighs its future, while simultaneously 2) reducing the likelihood that our college or university will be surprised by the events and trends of the future. While educators recognize the growing uncertainty of the contemporary world, they are consciously attempting to reduce the probability that the world will present conditions that have not previously been considered. Educators are neither attempting to predict the world nor control it. Instead, they recognize that institutions of

higher education are part of the external world, and the need to manage their own destiny within this world.

Three Approaches

Effective strategic planning brings together information on both the environment and the organization. A careful assessment of the environment may be described as a weighing of the "threats and opportunities" which face the institution, while an assessment of the institution can be described as a measuring of strengths and weaknesses. Bringing together these two strategic planning "data bases" can result in a strategic vision for the college or university, one which builds on its current strengths and rides the tides of environmental change.

The remainder of this paper discusses three somewhat distinct yet interrelated approaches for incorporating information about the external environment into the planning and decision-making process. First, it is essential to survey the landscape for external developments which will have an impact on the college or university. This survey must utilize a wide-angle lens which specifically brings into focus the full array of trends and developments which could possibly have an impact on postsecondary education. This technique is termed *environmental scanning*. Second, as faculty and administrators uncover issues which could potentially influence the institution either positively or adversely, they may choose to act in anticipation of the continuing development of the issue. This technique is termed *issues management*. Third, since the future is uncertain, administrators may choose to construct a set of plausible futures which will aid institution in developing responses to the many possibilities which it faces. This technique is termed *multiple scenario analysis*.

All of these techniques are more art than science. There is no single best way to conduct any of these processes. It is most important that the approaches raise the consciousness of the institution regarding environmental changes and introduce uncertainty into the planning process.

Environmental Scanning. Environmental scanning may best be likened to a radar system which is moving across all 360 degrees of the horizon looking for any trend or event which could have an impact on the institution. In so doing, administrators should not limit themselves to only those trends which will have an immediate and direct bearing on the institution (i.e., demographic shifts). Environmental scanning should also consider longer range, less precise factors which carry with them implications for the future of institutions (e.g., the changing values of teenagers, the perceived value of a higher education degree, the growing protest over the use of animals for research). After an issue is identified as potentially important, it can then be monitored for future developments.

The most common approach to environmental scanning is the design of a systematic reading program. Typically corporations will involve a diverse group of broad thinkers who are interested in exploring the dimensions of the future and their possible impact on the organization. Care is taken to ensure that the publications being scanned represent a cross section of viewpoints and topics.

The reading group may forward either abstracts or articles to a steering committee which then discusses these items and decides on the most appropriate next steps. These steps could range from immediate institutional action to a conscious choice to ignore the

issue. The reading group itself is also often the discussion group. More detail on this approach may be found in Morrison and Renfro (1983). Many major corporations have assigned some person or office the responsibility for monitoring the environment for critical developments. At the University of Minnesota the Experimental Team on External Assessment has been formed which is in the initial months of a systematic reading and scanning program.

Once an issue has been deemed important enough to track, a "white" paper may be commissioned which investigates the topic in detail. This paper may take the form of a research study which collects comprehensive data on the topic or it may be a thorough synopsis which discusses alternative outlooks and possibilities. With the wealth of faculty expertise available on campuses, these papers can be authored by authorities on the topic. At the University of Minnesota, several steps have occurred: 1) the dean of the graduate school has been commissioned to author a paper entitled "the development and advancement of knowledge" which examines the disciplines most likely to experience significant change over the next twenty years; and 2) a leading faculty expert on the state's economic climate has been commissioned to author a paper on "The Minnesota Economy in the Year 2000." These papers provide detailed treatments of important "environmental" variables; they are used in a variety of ways to inform and support the planning process.

As stated at the outset, environmental scanning is more art than science. Our early experiences at Minnesota have indicated that initial attempts to integrate information from a disparate set of sources into a coherent set of issues is both difficult and frustrating. Yet, more quickly than anticipated, we are developing internal capabilities to recognize and track significant issues. The most difficult step is the first. As George Keller has said:

> It is a common flaw among the highly learned in academe to prefer to do very little until near-uncertainty and rigorous methodologies have been worked out. But life does not allow such delays. We must act, doing the best we can with what we have. Herodotus and Thucydides wrote the first histories without a tidy method. Environmental scanning too should proceed regardless, adjusting regularly to new conditions.
>
> (Keller, p. 158, 1983)

Issues Management. Once issues have been identified and there is agreement within the institution that a particular issue could have significant impact, the issue can then be "managed." "Issues management," as it has come to be called by its devotees, is the newest in a string of approaches for coping with the environment. To manage an issue, key questions are asked about the probability of the issue developing, its likely consequences throughout the institution, and the time frame in which the issue is likely to develop. Recent work by Ian Wilson of SRI and William Renfro of Policy Analysis, Incorporated describe the four stages in the development of an issue. Summarized by Wilson:

> The societal concern over the quality of elementary and secondary education is a vivid example. Societal concerns were obviously present (stage 1), but it took the "Nation at Risk" report to articulate these concerns. Today there is little doubt that education has become a key political issue (stage 2) with Presidential aspirants promising to introduce legislation (stage 3) if elected. Can there be little doubt that regulation and litigation (stage 4) is far behind?

Issues management, like environmental scanning, is more art than science. It combines public relations acumen with strategic planning. It is built on the assumption that to be forewarned is to be forearmed. Institutions can turn issues into opportunities if they are

abreast of societal developments. The example frequently cited is the experience of Kaiser aluminum. When confronted with the fact that aluminum cans would not easily decompose, Kaiser responded by riding the crest of the country's recycling movement to set-up recycling centers for their cans.

Once an issue has been identified, it is the responsibility of the institution to decide on the best approach for managing the particular issue at hand. Case studies from private industry describe the formation of issue teams with a variety of expertise which are pulled together to propose strategies for senior level management.

The connotation of the word "management" is sometimes pejorative. Hence, issues management can carry with it the connotation that an institution should manipulate or block those issues which are unfavorable to it. Although the potential for such a cynical response is always present, this approach should be viewed in a more favorable light. Issues management rests on the maxim that "problems can be opportunities," particularly if the institution has advanced notice to determine its most constructive response. Moreover, all issues are not a threat to the institution. Some may support the strategic plan of a college or university, and their development should be used to further the strategic ends of the institution. Within the last two years a national professional organization, the Issues Management Association, has been formed to further the development of this strategic planning tool.

Scenario Planning

The use of scenarios provides one tool for folding into the planning process the information collected through environmental scanning and issues management. Historically, long-range planning has assumed a "forecastable" future. Planning processes considered only events which were both highly likely and highly important to the institution. Consciously or subconsciously, administrators ignored those issues and events which might have a low probability of occurring but could have a major impact on the future of the institution.

A scenario can be defined as:

> . . . a comprehensive, internally consistent narrative describing a plausible future . . . usually based on assumptions concerning complex interactions among international, regional, domestic and/or local social economic, political and technological influences.
>
> (Foresight Task Force Report)

Scenarios provide integrated mental maps of the future. They weave together trends and possible events from many societal components that might come to influence the future environment of the institution. Scenarios can be used to integrate the insights gained from environmental scanning. They require the scenario author(s) to determine how a trend in one seemingly isolated segment of the environment is related to other trends. Perhaps most importantly they communicate to the reader that the future is fundamentally uncertain; we cannot predict the events of tomorrow!

Scenarios are used to set the context for planning. When distributed as background information for a formal cycle of planning, they inform the recipients of possible environmental trends and events which might affect the future of their own department or college. These environmental factors are thus more likely to be folded into the planning process. Central administration can take this process a step further by indicating that unit plans will

be tested against the scenarios. By considering multiple futures administrators can test the robustness of strategies to see how they fare in a variety of settings.

Space does not permit a discussion of the construction of scenarios. This may be found in Heydinger and Zentner (1983) and other sources which are not focused on higher education. Suffice it to say that scenarios may take a variety of forms, ranging from a short paragraph to a thirty-page essay, from prose to numerical tables. Constructing scenarios, like other techniques, is more art than science. It does require a thorough understanding of the current trends and future forces affecting the development of society. Following are five scenarios for the future of postsecondary education in the United States. These are provided as examples of scenarios with a focus on national higher education policy. Scenarios for institutional planning would require more focus on environmental variables and, in most cases, a regional or local focus.

FIVE GLOBAL SCENARIOS FOR POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION *IN THE UNITED STATES*

The Official Future

The course which the United States imagined for itself in the early 1980s has been followed: high tech industries have continued to expand with renewed emphasis and support from all sectors of society, including higher education. Computation and communications has had a significant impact on all of society—with business, homes, and education feeling the impact of the "computer revolution." The manufacturing decline in the States has stabilized with heavy industry now only providing 13% of the nation's jobs. The economy, however, has been volatile, with periods of moderate growth followed by recessionary cycles. This has prevented long term capital investment which is necessary to embark on a period of sustained growth; however, many high tech sectors of the economy have been on a steady growth curve.

After much debate in the 1980s about the best approach for dealing with the enrollment decline in higher education, the federal government and most states either consciously or by default adopted a policy of letting the market determine which public institutions should receive funding. However, political stakes were too high to permit this type of managed approach. Instead, institutional funding was based on enrollment. Generally, the demand for higher education programs followed the demographic trends of the traditional college-age population. Although "life-long" learning offset a portion of the downturn, the part-time student population has not enrolled in numbers large enough to counteract the decline in the number of young students. Although every student realizes that a college degree is the calling card to meaningful employment, student interest is focused on fields with career opportunities. With employment opportunities limited, each passing year witnesses more students approaching their studies with seriousness than the previous year. Today students are outspoken in their demand for high quality instruction and up-to-date facilities.

In the past decade industry has established training and educational facilities at an unheard of pace. Today over 400 industries are accredited to offer MA's with 175 of these licensed by their home states to offer the baccalaureate degree. Competition from industry at the undergraduate level has had little influence on higher education since most of the students enrolling in industry-based baccalaureate degree programs are company employ-

ees who need only to complete at most a few semesters of coursework. However, specialized master's programs have become a significant alternative for the individual seeking post-baccalaureate work. It is now obvious that higher education underestimated this potential market when it failed to set up programs for older, degree holding professionals who sought to change careers. Because neither adequate flexibility nor high quality pedagogy was available, many older students turned to newly established proprietary programs for advanced education.

Support for research programs has been strong in selected high tech areas. Society's policy makers continue to recognize that the freedom offered by the university is the best environment in which to conduct basic research. Cooperative research organizations and jointly held patents between industry and higher education have become commonplace. With this selective emphasis on academic programs, the campus can quickly be divided into the groups of "have's and have-not's." High tech disciplines often occupy new facilities with nicely appointed offices while the remainder of faculty offices and classrooms are found in decrepit buildings. A simple tour around many campuses will show a "ghetto" context for the humanities and social sciences set beside a "high tech courtyard" with modern buildings and manicured landscape. This mirrors society's recent fixation on high tech and its growing impatience with the "high arts."

Campus governance is a curious mixture of strategic management (utilized in developing high tech and business oriented programs) and traditional academic governance (still used in the humanities and social science disciplines). Today academic administrators publicly recognize these differences which for so long were only subconsciously noted. The mood on campuses varies significantly depending on the discipline. Policies for early retirements and buy-out options are commonplace in all institutions. However, except for minor changes to tenure regulations, there have been few other changes in faculty personnel policies. Higher education's reluctance to deal with delicate matters of professional development stand in contrast to private industry which since the early 1980s has recognized this factor as a key component in the organization's strategic plan.

For higher education, the long period of reduction has reached its nadir. With the number of traditional college-age students steadily growing for at least the next sixteen years, a mood of optimism is returning to campuses. Today research universities are somewhat smaller than they were ten years ago, but they are still a much-valued part of society. State colleges and universities are diminished in number, with 1 of 10 being closed in the last 7 years and another 2 in 10 undergoing fundamental changes in their mission or structure. Some have merged with neighboring post-secondary institutions, both private and public. The number of liberal arts colleges is 75 percent of what it was in 1980. The more selective institutions have survived with few changes. The less selective institutions which have survived have restructured their mission to find a market niche. Community colleges have capitalized on the continued growth in avocational interests with their flexibility permitting them to respond quickly to changing student and community needs.

Tooling and Retooling

From education's perspective, two forces have driven the developments of the last twenty years. First, a fundamental shift from a manufacturing economy to one based on

information processing and on services. New businesses based on growth segments of society have formed, as manufacturing companies have increasingly moved to less developed nations. Rather than a boom or bust economy, it has been boom AND bust with businesses in the information and service industries having more job openings than candidates while employees in the manufacturing industries experience high rates of unemployment. Moreover, needed job skills have changed at an ever quickening pace. Two, three or four career changes in a lifetime is not unusual.

The second driving force is the continued recognition by both industry and students that a college education is the best road to success. For students possessing a degree but seeking a new career, colleges and universities are still viewed as the best source for fundamental job skills. For recent high school graduates, a college degree will not guarantee a job; however, without a degree there is no chance of meaningful employment. With required job skills changing rapidly, citizens find it necessary to return to formal schooling, not only to update themselves in their current profession but to improve their marketability for possible career changes.

These trends have had a number of important implications for colleges and universities. Because of those seeking tc "retool" for a career change, the feared enrollment decline has been mitigated. Overall, nationwide enrollment in colleges and universities has fallen only 1.5 percent. Yet the composition of the student body has undergone some fundamental and dramatic shifts. Rather than an enrollment graph which is spiked around the ages of 18-25, a graph of college and university students is now nearly rectangular across the ages of 18-45.

Today students recognize that excellence in the classroom enhances the probability of landing a good job. This, coupled with an increase in the proportion of older students, means that in today's learning environment students are much more serious about their studies than was true in 1983. As a result, students demand high quality instruction. The passive acceptance of poor teaching is a relic of the past, for students know that their marketability depends on high quality training with the latest equipment and techniques; thus, law suits by students over the misrepresentation of a costly economic good have become commonplace. Faculty members are under increased pressure to offer stimulating and up-to-date classroom material. Because of the greater age span among students, there is a wide range of values debated in classroom discussion. As a result classroom interaction has become more heated. The implicit view that the faculty member is somehow superior to the student (leftover from the period of in loco parentis) has completely disappeared. Faculty who prize the value of the liberal arts find themselves in a smaller and smaller minority, as students focus almost exclusively on the need for vocational skills.

Although there is fierce competition for the continuing education dollar, providing an individual the wide set of skills necessary for a new career remains exclusively the responsibility of traditional colleges and universities. The prediction of the 1980s that corporations would be setting- up private four-year colleges has not come to pass.

For higher education, the dreaded conditions of the 1980s and 1990s did not materialize. Although a few institutions did close and some public institutions were merged, most institutions took advantage of the rising demand from older students by changing their academic programs and locating a niche in the market. Nevertheless, this has been a period of dramatic change for colleges and universities. As in other periods in history, the

forces for change have come not from within higher education but are the result of the new values brought to the classroom by the changing mix of students.

Youth Reject Schooling

Despite efforts by both private and public sectors, the United States has continued to slip as an economic and industrial power. The economy continues a slow downward drift as structural unemployment has grown in manufacturing and other heavy industry. Some industries continue to expand with job openings prevalent in selected high tech areas (i.e., biogenetics, chemical engineering, cryogenics) as well as selected skilled trades (i.e., carpentry, electricians, landscape maintenance).

The expectations of a "micro-millenium" have generally been realized with computing and communications now playing a significant role in people's personal and professional lives. There has been a veritable explosion of available hardware and software, for every facet of activity imaginable. Entertainment and business software with varying levels of sophistication are found in every home and office.

These trends working in concert with each other have led to a situation of grave concern for educators. It is obvious that a significant portion of youth reject (formal) education. Although all white collar jobs require a college credential, given the country's population distributions and economic climate, there is little job turnover. Hence there are only selective job openings which demand a college degree and in which one can expect to earn more than in an "8 to 5" manual labor position. Thus, for some, there is little motivation to enroll in postsecondary education. Youth are outspoken in their criticism of the poor pedagogical technique used in all aspects of formal schooling whether it be the high school classroom or the college course. Today's youth have been weaned on a steady diet of fast paced information presented in short bursts. They are accustomed to instant feedback and have learned to handle inputs from a variety of stimuli simultaneously. The format of the college course which has changed little over the past century seems archaic to them.

The shifting focus of the 1970s and 80s from concern with professions to concern with avocations has continued. Today's population spends much more time on their hobbies and recreational activities than their counterparts in earlier generations. As a result, a large segment of today's population avoid positions which would infringe on their time away from the office. Finding a manageable and undemanding 8-5 position is a specific objective of many youth as well as older adults.

These societal trends are further exacerbated by the high cost of postsecondary education, which must be borne by the family. The federal government has partially extricated itself from the financial aid business. For any but the wealthy who still view it as in their best interests to obtain a college degree, they must borrow a significant sum of money which will require many years to pay back.

With a sluggish economy and public reaction vacillating in relationship to colleges and universities, higher education has slipped even further on the fiscal agenda of the states. Major research universities are being maintained but nothing more. The worst fears about the future of the non-selective private liberal arts colleges have come to pass; only a few have been able to find their niche in the marketplace. The selective private institutions with significant endowments are vital but not necessarily thriving.

Many of today's students come from at least third generation college families. These students are slated to be in the traditional professions, executives in the major corporations or entrepreneurs in business ventures. As a result, collegiate student bodies, in addition to being much smaller, are more homogeneous than any time in the last 30 years. Although there are an equal number of men and women enrolled in postsecondary education, the only racial diversity is a result of an increasing number of foreign students who have enrolled at all levels. Enrollment in all but a few professional programs has dropped precipitously so that there is concern over the growing shortage of advanced degree holders in needed specialties within education, industry, and government.

For those who have decided to enroll, the mood is an odd mixture of devotion to learning coupled with a smugness that belies the fact that meaningful careers most likely await each graduate. College students demand high quality instruction, for like their peers who have opted out of schooling, they too have been exposed to stimulating educational materials and live a fast-paced life style.

Undergraduate faculty on campuses have a feeling of relief, for they know that for whatever reasons their careers in academe have been spared while many of their graduate school colleagues have been forced out. The mood is one of "minding the store" while waiting for better days ahead. The public's critical attitude toward formal schooling is so overwhelming that individual faculties do not attempt to tackle a societal problem of this magnitude. Instead, a spirit of elitism grows on the college campuses as both faculty and students see themselves creating distance between their own lives and those of the "commoners".

Long Term Malaise

As the new millenium approaches, citizens of the United States are hoping for a change in the 25 years of slow but steady decline which has characterized their country's recent economic history. Only a few industrial components of the economy (i.e., communications, computing, biogenetics, and prepared foods) have grown significantly. Computing has become an important aspect of business; however, due to cost and a slow economy it has not penetrated the personal household at the rate that many had projected. Overall the mood of the country is somber.

The revenue streams of federal and state governments have diminished in real terms over the past 15 years as the country has neither the will nor the resources to tax itself more heavily. With a slumping economy and an aging population, the demand for governmental social services is great. Governments have struggled to formulate innovative programs which would speak to the country's needs; however, nearly all incentives have been blocked by competing interest groups. Inaction has marked the last twenty years of government with some exceptions. Higher education might be regarded as one of these exceptions.

As the country progressed through the 1980's, the long awaited enrollment decline did materialize with full force! A number of factors worked together to cause enrollment decline. Jobs for college graduates were scarce and did not pay significantly greater salaries than those for common help in the service industries. The long heralded advent of lifelong learning did not materialize. Most scholars of the subject reached the conclusion that people are not as innately curious as the movement had assumed in the 1970s. In the

early 1980s higher education was unsure of its future. Yet uncharacteristically, it responded strategically and aggressively. During this period faculty governance associations viewed the realignment of campus power with a wait-and-see attitude. For a brief period, cautious optimism swept the campuses. Administrators assumed increasing authority to manage the affairs of their campus, while both federal and state officials called for needed reform at all levels of education as the best way to bolster a sagging American society. Yet with the economy remaining in a slump, not only were public funds to support innovations not forthcoming, but states found it necessary to continue budgetary reductions for public higher education. With renewed confidence in their managerial expertise and political acumen, many university presidents responded by organizing confrontations with state governments as a strategy for receiving necessary funds.

State governments reacted by intervening to decide which public campuses would be retained and which ones would be closed for needed cost savings. With the support of state coordinating boards, state governments moved with unusual dispatch to merge or close institutions. In response, faculties chose two courses of action, neither of which were effective. They either unionized quickly with the hopes that collective power would thwart these mergers and closures; or they lobbied vociferously on behalf of the autonomous university and the need for traditional academic values. Any possibility of programmatic change on campuses was impossible, for governance mechanisms were paralyzed, due to the threat which faculty perceived.

This circumstance did not go unnoticed by either industry or the larger public. Industry found it increasingly difficult to conduct business with higher education, as the institutions were mired down in internal political maneuvering or unionized bureaucracy. The public viewed most colleges and universities as reactionary to needed pedagogical change. Although the citizenry generally recognized the need for post-secondary education, they view the current structure as out-of-touch, not unlike the cloistered monastery which seems oblivious to the swirling environment in which it exists.

Those faculty who were seeking rewarding work and had other career options have left the academy. In part this has been caused by today's student who recognizes that education is a costly economic good and therefore demands high quality instruction with up-to-date equipment. As a result, faculty are under increasing pressure, a strain which many have decided not to tolerate. In some cases faculty have turned to their unions to protect them from student "demands". . . . some would term it harassment.

Today higher education finds itself a shrunken image of its former self. Research universities continue to manage, although their laboratory facilities have eroded considerably. There is doubt as to whether they can ever return to their former stature. State colleges have been the most severely hit of public institutions. Although most remain open, a number have been closed or merged with local community colleges or private liberal arts colleges as a means of staying open. The morale of faculty resembles the downtrodden spirit of public school teachers in the 1970s and 80s. Many private liberal arts colleges have closed. The more selective institutions remain, assuming the same role that private boarding schools assumed relative to public high schools in the 1960s. Community colleges have continued to follow the same course throughout the last 30 years. Their flexibility has served them well. Although they too have been cut back, they continue to meet the needs of their community in a wide variety of ways. However, they

too have been forced to step back from the high quality higher education mission which they had mapped out for themselves.

Like a patient with a long bout of a near fatal illness, there is the question of whether the former health of higher education will ever be restored.

A New Industry is Born

In this scenario, many of the hoped for changes in the economy and society have taken place, but from the perspective of higher education the results are nothing short of revolutionary. The economy has regained some of its lost momentum as the fundamental move from manufacturing to post-industrial activities begins to shake down. However, the hoped for stability in economic growth has not come about; instead the economy is volatile, marked by spurts of growth followed by double digit inflation. As a result, the funds to support state and federal government programs continue to be an issue. The entrepreneurial spirit in the country continues to burgeon as both policy makers and individuals recognize that innovative activity holds the key to the nation's future success. Both federal and local governmental policies have been created to foster new industries, with the hope that this will create long term and steady growth in the overall economy. The focus continues to be on "high tech" industries with the manufacturing industries shifting to developing countries. The predicted revolution in computing and telecommunications has had a far greater impact on business, education, and home life than all but the most far-fetched predictions of the 1980s had envisioned.

Although the last twenty years have been ones of rapid change and continual soul-searching regarding the future of the United States, the country's citizenry continues to recognize the fundamental importance of education. The possession of marketable skills is seen by all socio-economic classes as essential for economic success and self-fulfilling work. *Skills* are viewed as the key to vocational success with decreasing emphasis placed on the education of the whole person. Given the rapid pace of change, people now expect that they will have three, four or even five different careers in their working lifetime. Thus formal education is viewed as an intermittent but essential life-long activity. Because effective skill acquisition is so closely tied to employment opportunities, students have become outspoken in their demand for quality instruction. Because higher education takes place throughout one's life, the trade-off between income and cost of attending higher education is more obvious than any time in our history. It is now recognized that the single largest expenditure any individual makes is for education. Thus students have become careful and outspoken consumers of education.

During the period of the demographic downturn in traditional college-age students, both the federal government and nearly all states opted to let market mechanisms decide which institutions would thrive and which would fail. This was not surprising, for it was consistent with the entrepreneurial spirit of free enterprise which was sweeping the country. At the same time, however, public officials recognized the long term importance to the country of maintaining a viable post-secondary industry. Thus, students were given adequate financial aid support to attend the institutions of their choice. Some states instituted taxing policies which taxed a family from the birth of a child so that funds would be available in the form of financial aid throughout the child's life.

This entrepreneurial and management spirit also swept college and university campuses during the 1980s. As institutions felt increasingly threatened by the uncertainty of the future, the traditional norms of careful, sometimes lethargic academic governance mechanisms were replaced by a willingness to move rapidly to try out new organizational arrangements. Research universities led the charge in this arena as they rushed to establish private research corporations. Faculty members in high tech areas took action on the long-held recognition that they were collections of entrepreneurs with highly marketable skills. In increasing numbers they moved to set up organizations which were outside the university. Strategic management became the accepted norm for higher education. This fundamental change in governance values accompanied by a worsening financial situation led some colleges at many major universities to break away from the parent organization and set up their own independent schools. This was supported by the financial aid policies of the state governments and the increasingly profitable research arrangements made with corporations. Thus the traditional, comprehensive research university began to break down.

All of these trends led to a fundamental reorientation in society's outlook on postsecondary education: Skills, not degrees, were seen as the most important outcome of an education. Consumers of education wanted to be able to decide on their own what institution they would attend. With society continuing to recognize the importance of higher education and an entrepreneurial spirit sweeping the country, entrepreneurs recognized the possibility of establishing proprietary institutions. These ventures would not make large profits, but they were viewed as important and respected contributions to society. Hence, there was an explosion of new forms of post- secondary education. Collectives of faculty members set up small professionally oriented training programs. Private corporations established larger, more comprehensive programs. Even the single individual who was highly skilled and an effective teacher could hang out a shingle and offer education. This was made possible because employers required demonstrated skills for hiring.

Thus a new industry has been formed. It is definitely higher education in the traditional meaning of that phrase; however, the structure of the industry is significantly different than 20 years earlier. Major research universities have undergone the most radical restructuring. State colleges have diminished significantly in numbers as students opt to attend institutions which are less bureaucratic and more personable. Many less selective liberal art colleges have closed, while the more selective ones maintain their clientele consisting primarily of traditional college-aged students from upper class families. Community colleges have flourished as they have been able to respond quickly to fill the niches of program demand not covered by other institutions.

A Final Thought

The success of traditional postsecondary education over the next twenty years will be determined by our capabilities for staying abreast of a rapidly changing world. Successful institutions will be those which are able to broaden their strategic vision and which ride the tides of change while not sacrificing those educational principles they deem important. To do so, it is essential to look beyond our traditional organizational boundaries for ideas and information.

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ACADEMIC RENEWAL AND PUBLIC POLICY

Richard L. Alfred and Murray Jackson

After nearly two decades of unprecedented prosperity, growth and public policy support, American higher education entered the 1980's facing serious questions about quality and the adequacy of financial resources. Forces such as anticipated decline in the number of college-age students in the next decade, rising costs, new curriculum demands, the burgeoning resource needs of human service organizations, and global competition have combined to forge a new public policy agenda for higher education. Integral to this agenda is the notion that fiscal resources should be allocated in accord with the perceived or ascribed value of higher education as an agency for economic development, human capital development, technological change, and cultural adaptation. No longer should colleges receive financial resources on the basis of "what they have been." Each institution should maintain the capacity to provide information or "evidence" about the cost-benefits offset to specific constituencies to warrant improvement in public support.

These contrasting themes in public policy—unquestioned support versus support based on performance measures—demonstrate the cyclical nature of policy. When considered in the context of present fiscal exigencies facing colleges and universities, public policy can be viewed as a causative factor in institutional decline or as a catalytic factor underlying renewal. The question is: How does public policy shape decisions about academic renewal when competition for resources is keen and a "reduction mentality" may be firmly rooted in faculty and staff?

Public Policy: A Working Definition

A large part of the ability of a college or university to renew its programs, faculty, staff, and academic support services rests in its capacity to obtain resources from the constituencies it serves. To a considerable extent, the resource allocation behavior of state agencies limits the ability of public institutions to develop programs and staff through constraints on revenue and expenditures. State and federal agencies can enact legislation to shape the flow of resources to the college in accord with emerging social and economic conditions.

If public policy is viewed in terms of the emotive behavior of individuals with designated responsibilities for resource allocation decisions in organizations or systems, it is possible to advance a working definition predicated on recognition of the relationship between policy initiatives and resource allocation behavior. Public policy is the socially binding directives issued by government agencies that affect organizations and individuals concerned with and impacted by the economic and social implications of specific policy initiatives. On a broad scale, public policy encompasses issues involving the appropriation of federal and state dollars to competing interests—military spending, health care, education, social security, environmental quality and technology. On a smaller scale, it is limited to issues that affect the flow of resources to colleges and universities. Enrollment and tuition pricing policies developed by state and federal agencies, for example, comprise a regulative framework that guides resource allocation and utilization decisions made by, and for, colleges and universities.

Academic Renewal

Financial resources are a critical requisite for renewal in higher education. Defined as the "complex of strategies, procedures, and policies employed by colleges and universities to change the deployment of human and financial resources to rebuild programs, services, staff and facilities in response to change in the external environment," academic renewal requires a favorable public policy climate for implementation. Renewal can proceed in eight dimensions:

* Student Services
* Academic Programs
* Faculty and Staff
* Academic Support Services
* Facilities and Equipment
* Administration
* Organizational Structure
* Fiscal Affairs

In a less than optimistic public policy climate, renewal efforts may be limited to specific dimensions of institutional activity which support current or emerging needs. Modernization of equipment inventories and research facilities to support economic development, provision of discretionary resources to improve quality in academic programs, and imposition of tuition ceilings to improve access for students of limited financial means are examples of renewal dimensions which have been the focus of public policy (i.e., legislation) over the past year. Opportunities for renewal are also subject to prevailing economic conditions. The fiscal austerity experienced by many states in 1981 and 1982 produced a public policy climate that completely undercut efforts toward academic renewal. Public and private institutions experienced escalating difficulties with aging physical plants, rising costs for energy and salaries, increasing legal expenses because of lawsuits filed by disgruntled students and dismissed faculty, faculties heavily tenured in the humanities at a time of rising demand for science-oriented education, and increasing competition for students and staff from non-traditional providers of postsecondary education such as corporations and not-for-profit associations. Academic renewal, as a process, is significantly influenced by the public policy climate in which renewal is expected to occur, as well as the economic condition of the service region in which the institution is located.

As economic conditions have slowly improved, the public policy interests of government agencies have shifted to include a focus on embellishment of quality in academic programs and services. A critical objective of higher education public policy at present is improvement in the capacity of colleges and universities to provide quality learning experiences to students toward the goal of facilitating economic and technological development.

Impress Model for Public Policy and Academic Renewal

To examine the relationship between academic renewal and public policy in states with variable economic conditions, it is necessary to present a model for research which organizes relationships among different variables. This model requires the specification of institutional and environmental factors which underlie specific policy initiatives and then of the impact of these initiatives on academic renewal. A public policy impress model

(Figure 1) is advanced to organize relationships among the variables. This model is comprised of four stages: Economic Differentiation, Agency and Institutional Policies, Public Policy Impress, and Academic Renewal Strategies. Following is a description of the stages in the model and the variables that are the subject of analysis in each stage.

Stage One: Economic Differentiation

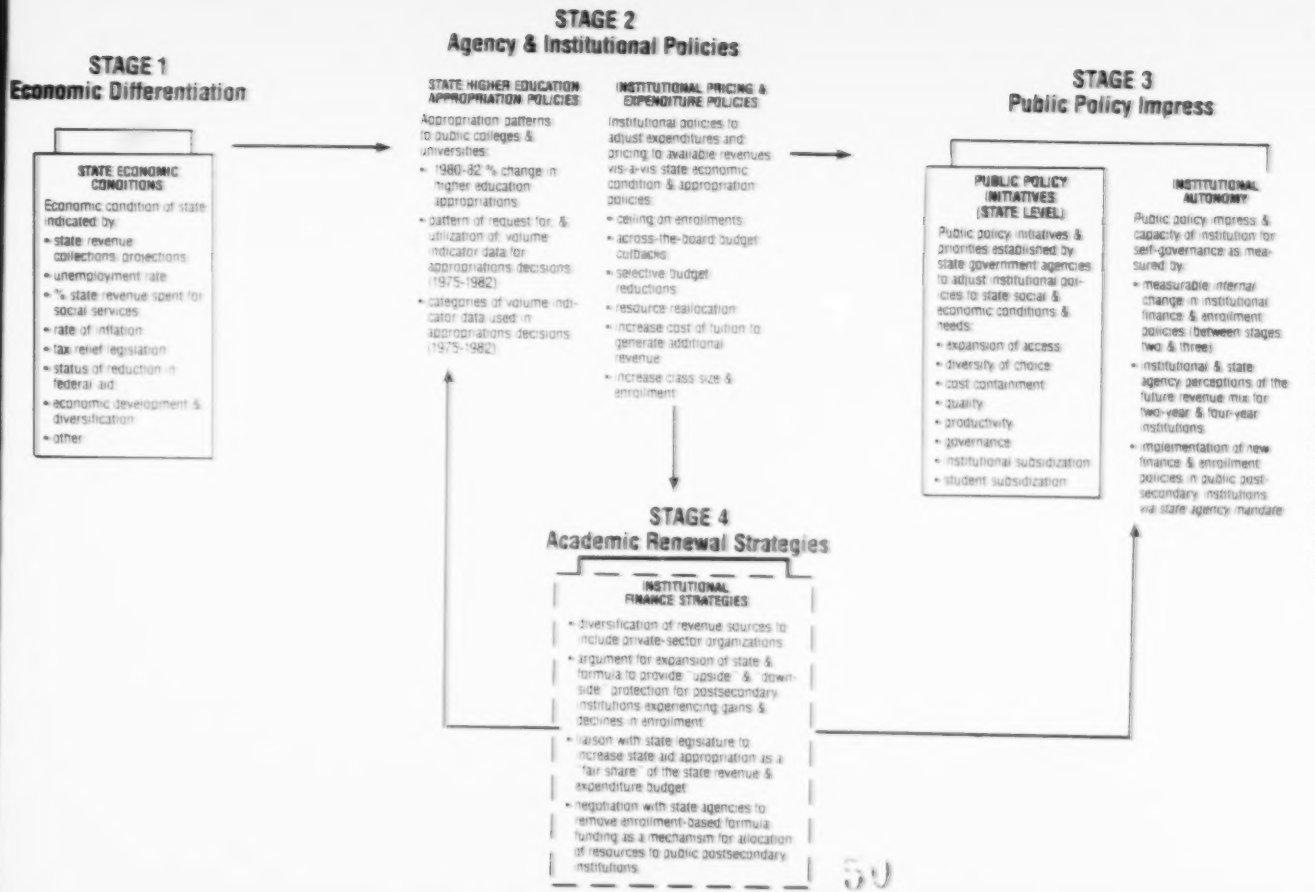
A composite index of the financial condition of a state measured in terms of general economic indicators and revenues allocated to higher education. Indicators of state fiscal condition include data on actual revenue collections versus projected collections, rate of unemployment, volume and percentage of state revenues spent on higher education, rate of inflation, state revenue growth rates, industrial production, plant utilization, per capita spending for higher education, and business and industrial closings. States experiencing decline in economic indicators can be expected to constrict the flow of resources to postsecondary education thereby cultivating a public policy climate unfavorable to academic renewal.

Stage Two: Agency and Institutional Policies

Agency and institutional policies are defined as an index of 1) the pattern of federal and state appropriations to colleges and universities and 2) the expenditure and pricing policies adopted by colleges and universities to adjust to changing state fiscal conditions. Economic differentiation and federal and state appropriations policies are a determinant of institutional pricing and expenditure policies adopted by colleges and universities to adjust to changing resource levels in periods of economic stress. Some commonly used institutional "policies" follow:

1) Institutions can place a ceiling on institutional and programmatic enrollments to control instructional expenditures.
2) Across-the-board and selective budget reductions can be implemented to reduce institutional expenditures in accord with changing appropriations policies.
3) Faculty and administrators can effect changes in the internal allocation of resources to modify expenditures in response to reductions in federal and state appropriation growth rates.
4) Enrollment can be increased through increments in class size to improve institutional productivity and tuition revenue as a replacement for lost state aid.
5) College and university administrators can increase the cost of tuition, holding student enrollment constant, to generate additional revenue to offset the impact of changing state appropriations policies.
6) Efforts can be made to reduce institutional dependence on federal and state aid as a revenue source through diversification of resource development strategies to increase the flow of revenue from non- traditional sources (e.g., business and industry, alumni, private gifts, foundations, etc.)

As colleges alter pricing and expenditure policies to adjust to changing economic conditions and agency appropriations formulae, they will set the stage for policy initiatives which encourage or constrain renewal through attention (or lack thereof) to selected factors (i.e., pricing, access, quality, diversity of choice, etc.).


STAGE 1
Economic Differentiation
STATE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
Economic condition of state indicated by:
• state revenue collections; projections
• unemployment rate
• % state revenue spent for social services
• rate of inflation
• tax relief legislation
• status of reduction in federal aid
• economic development & diversification
• other
STAGE 2
Agency & Institutional Policies
STATE HIGHER EDUCATION APPROPRIATION POLICIES
Appropriation patterns to public colleges & universities:
• 1980-82 % change in higher education appropriations
• pattern of request for, & utilization of, volume indicator data for appropriations decisions (1975-1982)
• categories of volume indicator data used in appropriations decisions (1975-1982)
INSTITUTIONAL PRICING & EXPENDITURE POLICIES
Institutional policies to adjust expenditures and pricing to available revenues vis-a-vis state economic condition & appropriation policies:
• ceiling on enrollments
• across-the-board budget cutbacks
• selective budget reductions
• resource reallocation
• increase cost of tuition to generate additional revenue
• increase class size & enrollment
STAGE 3
Public Policy Impress
PUBLIC POLICY INITIATIVES (STATE LEVEL)
Public policy initiatives & priorities established by state government agencies to adjust institutional policies to state social & economic conditions & needs:
• expansion of access
• diversity of choice
• cost containment
• quality
• productivity
• governance
• institutional subsidization
• student subsidization
INSTITUTIONAL AUTONOMY
Public policy impress & capacity of institution for self-governance as measured by:
• measurable internal change in institutional finance & enrollment policies (between stages two & three)
• institutional & state agency perceptions of the future revenue mix for two-year & four-year institutions
• implementation of new finance & enrollment policies in public postsecondary institutions via state agency mandate
STAGE 4
Academic Renewal Strategies
INSTITUTIONAL FINANCE STRATEGIES
• diversification of revenue sources to include private-sector organizations
• argument for expansion of state & formula to provide "upside" & "downside" protection for postsecondary institutions experiencing gains & declines in enrollment
• liaison with state legislature to increase state aid appropriation as a "fair share" of the state revenue & expenditure budget
• negotiation with state agencies to remove enrollment-based formula funding as a mechanism for allocation of resources to public postsecondary institutions

Stage Three: Public Policy Impress

Higher Education public policy is shaped, in part, by institutional pricing and expenditure policies. It is also shaped by federal spending priorities. The federal policy options reported in Table 1, for example, show that postsecondary education is but one of many spending alternatives that can be pursued by the federal government. If the emphasis in federal spending is placed on technology and defense, then a corresponding change in higher education public policy can be expected to reduce the flow of federal dollars to colleges and universities in favor of additional resources for military and technological development. The real dollar decline in the value of student aid between 1980 and 1983 is evidence of change in federal spending priorities for higher education. In academic year 1983-84, the total amount of aid estimated to be available to students from college, state, and federal programs was 16.1-billion, down from a peak of $18-billion in 1981-82. If the figures are adjusted to reflect inflation, approximately $15.3-billion will be available in the current year, down from a peak of $19.3-billion in 1980-81 (College Entrance Examination Board, 1984).

The federal policy options in Table 1 also show that shifts do occur in federal spending priorities. The spate of recent reports on the quality of education combined with growing resistance to incremental spending for defense could alter government spending priorities in the late 80's. With the advent of new technology and the need to prepare workers with sophisticated analytical skills endemic to the liberal arts (communication, writing, and numerical skills), postsecondary education will become an increasingly important enterprise for technological and economic development. Already, states such as Utah, California and Ohio have appropriated categorical funds for academic renewal. Other states are apt to follow as it becomes clear that postsecondary education is a critical resource for injecting vitality into an aging industrial infrastructure.

State level public policy initiatives follow federal spending priorities and reflect resource conditions and policy concerns in different states. Each of the institutional pricing and expenditure policy alternatives presented in Figure 1 and the federal spending priorities presented in Table 1 has differential impact on the clientele served by colleges and universities and, to a limited extent, the public policy agenda of state agencies. For example, institutional attempts to control instructional expenditures through reductions in the operating budget can serve to diminish program quality. They can also serve as a stimulus for public policy initiatives by agencies of the state and federal government for liberalizing institutional subsidization policies to include categorical assistance for program development and renewal. Such policy initiatives would have the effect of sustaining programs while simultaneously improving quality to offset the deleterious effects of lost state aid.

Similar in design, but different in impact, would be the efforts of postsecondary institutions to raise additional revenue to meet rising expenditures by increasing the cost of tuition. The public policy issue of cost containment would invariably receive attention from state agencies as increasing numbers of students are "priced out" of the higher education market by rising tuition rates. Escalating tuition rates among postsecondary institutions would have the effect of inhibiting student demand depending on program and geographic factors and therefore may serve to limit growth for particular sectors of the postsecondary education market. The absence of attention to cost containment policies

could lead to a continuous cycle of enrollment declines and state aid reductions as the disparity widens between institutional costs and student ability to pay in a period of economic change.

Another example of a public policy initiative associated with institutional expenditure and pricing policies is the possible emergence of governance as a policy issue when public colleges and universities are subjected to increasing state control over internal pricing and expenditure policies. The ability of an institution to make independent decisions regarding its mission, goals, and programs can erode in the face of tightening state controls over the acquisition and expenditure of fiscal resources. Analysis of the fiscal policies and procedures employed by state agencies to guide the preparation of institutional budget requests and tuition price policies would make a substantial contribution to understanding the effects of state government policies on institutional governance.

Stage Four: Academic Renewal Strategies

Academic renewal strategies—the long- and short-term methods used by colleges to change the deployment of human and financial resources to rebuild programs, services, staff and facilities in response to change in the external environment—are both negatively and positively impacted by the state agency policy initiatives and federal government spending priorities. State agencies interested in the policy issue of cost containment will almost certainly place tight controls on institutional expenditures, tuition pricing, and enrollment levels. Conversely, state agencies interested in improving quality can be expected to remove constraints on expenditure levels and thereby encourage the implementation of renewal strategies in colleges and universities.

Federal spending priorities that encourage the allocation of new resources to postsecondary education are an obvious incentive for implementation of renewal strategies. The important question is: What functions or institutional units should be the focus of renewal strategies? Should the emphasis be placed on renewal of aging facilities and equipment, improvement of academic support services, development and retraining of faculty, installation of modern information systems, or establishment of improved student counseling and advisement services? How do colleges and universities approach the task of renewal after years of fiscal neglect? What are the priorities for renewal and how quickly should the task begin? Can favorable federal spending priorities and state policy initiatives be expected to sustain for a period of time sufficient to support the process of renewal? What renewal strategies will yield the greatest benefits to the institution in terms of the economic, political, and technological needs of government agencies? What will be the future direction of federal spending priorities and state public policy initiatives given change in economic, technological and demographic conditions? The sequence and types of renewal strategies applied in a particular institution over a given period of time will depend on answers developed by faculty and administrators to these questions.

The Future

Although public policy is an elusive subject for research, speculation is possible about directions for the future and their implications for academic renewal. Give a public policy climate in which defense spending has received high priority between 1980 and 1984, it is likely that domestic spending will become the subject of increasing attention in the late

Table 1. Public Policy and Federal Spending

FEDERAL POLICY OPTIONS	FEDERAL SPENDING PRIORITIES, 1985-90
Welfare/Human Resource Development	
• health care	Human Resource
• public housing	
• Social Services	K-12 Education
• income maintenance	
• K-12 education	Postsecondary Education
• postsecondary education	
Military/Industrial/Technological	
• military conscription	
• military research	Technological Research and Development
• military equipment	
• industrial research & development	
• development & support of technology	Rebuilding Material
• rebuilding material infrastructure	Infrastructure
Post Technological	
• privacy in the information society	
• quality of life/individual adaptation to technology	Future Political and Social Issues Related to Development of the Individual in a Technological Society
• control over technology	
• equality for special groups such as older citizens	
• meaningful participation in political and business decision making	

80's. Non-defense related issues such as quality in education, adaptation to changing technology, renewal of an aging material infrastructure (bridges, highways, tunnels, etc.), aging and retirement, and human capital development will likely become the focus of public policy consideration by state and federal government agencies in the late 80's. As much a backlash against defense spending as an attempt to improve quality in social institutions, the reemphasis on domestic spending will bring new actors into the public policy scene. Engineers and computer scientists will influence public policy directed to capital improvement and advancing technology. Social scientists will shape policy for education, human services, and programs directed toward adaptation of individuals to social and technological change. Information and communications specialists will be called upon to develop policies for the integration of human values into advanced information systems.

To respond to changing public policy initiatives and federal spending priorities, colleges and universities will need to place a renewed emphasis on concepts such as lifelong learning, the integration of liberal arts and technology in academic programs, and implementation of computer-driven learning systems. Knowledge obsolescence will occur at a rapid pace and citizens will be divided into groups of "haves" and "have-nots" by virtue of their access to technology. Academic renewal will become the watchword for American higher education in the late 80's. Institutions will modernize academic programs, services, facilities, and staff to serve changing needs associated with advancing technology and changing public policy.

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DISAGGREGATING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

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The relationships of colleges and universities to public agencies are an area in which there is both opportunity and potential of threat for higher education. This paper will attempt to provide some background for consideration of these relationships in a period of rapid change.

Colleges and Universities as Entrepreneurial Institutions

Colleges and universities are effective entrepreneurial institutions. They pursue "success" with all of the dedicated fervor of the stereotypical business organization with which higher education is so often contrasted. Although "success" means different things to different educational institutions, all of them require resources for its accomplishment. The entrepreneurial abilities of American colleges and universities are found in their ability to seek out and secure resources wherever they may lie. The history of American higher education is, in large part, a history of finding and securing money or, occasionally, surrogates for money such as contributions in kind. The diversity of American higher education is associated with the diversity of resources which this successful search has produced. Money has come from students as consumers; from religious denominations as presumed beneficiaries; and from local governments in return for educational, cultural and social benefits provided to citizens. Money has come from alumni as a matter of pride in and recognition of alma mater; from individuals without prior association with the institution in return for recognition and a sense of civic and personal fulfillment; and from state governments as a matter of service to citizens, encouragement of cultural and economic development, and fulfillment of the political ambitions of statesmen who love to simultaneously serve constituents and build monuments. Money comes from the Federal government for many of the same reasons and for others as well. The Federal government has shared with state governments the image of colleges and universities as environments with a remarkable capacity for accomplishing that which is needed.

Colleges and universities have another characteristic of the effective entrepreneur—the ability to acquire resources on terms advantageous to the institution. Generally, this means that resources are obtained with a minimum number of strings attached. Entrepreneurs are pragmatists and as such they do not dogmatically insist on the principle of "no strings or no agreement to accept money." Instead, educational administrators (and faculty as well) have been remarkably adept at getting minimum encumbrances while still, in the majority of cases, winding up with the booty. It is an amazing record, especially when contrasted with the stereotype of the inept educator.

The link between higher education as a successful entrepreneur and changing relationships with the multitude of state, Federal, and local governmental agencies is direct. In its dealings with multiple funding sources, higher education generally has an acceptable percentage of successes. This has been true both of the ability to obtain resources and the ability to keep restrictions and regulations associated with them to a tolerable level. It is important to note, however, that what constitutes a tolerable restriction level is not the same in all places. Norms tend to be established among like institutions, whether their common bond is the fact that they are in the same state and must accept successes and failures according to the norms of that state or their common bond is membership in an

institutional subset such as research universities or liberal arts colleges which establish on a national scale informal norms as to what is acceptable and what constitutes the tolerable degree of deviation from it.

The Pluralism of Changing Relationships

The fact that relationships between higher education and government have been changing is a given in this time of many changes. There is little point in restating the fact. There *is* reason to consider the nature of the change and its potential consequences.

We tend to speak of change in the singular. However, any meaningful discussion of change must recognize that there are many changes. The types of change are interrelated and many of the most important are responses to shared demographic challenges and a depressed fiscal situation. However, a discussion of change only in these terms can lead to dangerous oversimplifications that hide more than they explain.

There are multiple dimensions in the changing relations of government and higher education. Disaggregating relationships between higher education and government involves understanding that there are three or four different levels of government with which institutions interact; innumerable agencies at each governmental level; a variety of types of relationships, the most important of which are *funding*, *regulation*, and *service*; and a variety of institutional types, each characterized by different types of governmental relationships.

Staff members in individual institutions know the mix of relationships with which they are familiar and often assume that their experiences are representative of most of higher education. In a large number of cases, however, generalizations based upon experience hold true only for subsets of similarly situated institutions.

Levels of Government and Multiplicity of Agencies

Federal relationships are dispersed among many different governmental departments and agencies. Student financial aid is concentrated in the Department of Education, but not located there exclusively because of the specialized student aid programs operated by other departments and agencies which serve specific needs. Federal regulatory activities are located in many departments. Some regulatory activities pertain mainly to higher education. A great many others, such as social security, apply to many or all parts of American life equally and do not constitute a special higher educational relationship.

From a subjective point of view, higher education's refusal to differentiate between regulation directed specifically at higher education and that aimed at all types of social organizations does a disservice to colleges and universities. It comes across as a type of elitism, an ethnocentric determination to keep higher education free of absolutely all government relationships regardless of their reasonableness or applicability to the rest of society.

State relationships include the obvious funding relationship with public institutions plus different arrangements, depending upon the state, for the operation of state administered student financial assistance programs. States also vary greatly in the extent of funding for private colleges and universities and the forms such funding takes. It may be available to

most or all private institutions or it may be focused on certain programmatic specializations in a way that results in the involvement of only a few institutions. State regulatory activities, like Federal activities, include some which are specifically aimed at higher education, some which apply to all state-supported activities, and some which even cover non-governmental organizations.

Local governments include agencies which are specifically established to interact with colleges or universities—notably the community college districts; some agencies which are specific to education and include elements of elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education—such as a school district that operates a community college or an adult education program. Beyond that, there are a myriad of different local governmental jurisdictions with which colleges and universities have relationships simply because the institutions are located within certain geographic boundaries.

Local government relationships, particularly the exchange of services with the institution, can be formal or informal, recognized or unrecognized, appreciated or unappreciated. Usually they are all of the above. A college takes property off the tax rolls, constitutes an important local industry, affects positively the cultural life of the community, and, in the eyes of some citizens, brings into the community a concentration of immature transients. Local attitudes toward this mix of pluses and minuses can vary tremendously and often shifts as different factors become the focus of local attention.

Relationships Follow Money

The primary determinant of who talks with whom in government-higher education relations tends to be where the money comes from and secondarily where non-financial regulations come from. Obvious examples are provided by locally funded community colleges which deal principally with local boards and community agencies and secondarily with state government, often through a coordinating board. Attention is given to those of the Federal agencies which relate to community colleges only if the relationship is one which is of interest to the specific institution. This reality leaves large numbers of Federal agencies with which individual community colleges do not concern themselves.

Following the same pattern, public senior institutions relate primarily to state government and secondarily to Federal agencies unless they are major research universities in which case the number of Federal agencies of interest to the institution increases exponentially. Local government relations for senior institutions usually concern regulations and sometimes the exchange of services. Liberal arts colleges are concerned with Federal student financial aid, with state programs of financial aid to students and to private institutions, and possibly with specific Federal agencies because of specific activities on-campus.

Although this picture is oversimplified, it illustrates the point that agency/institutional relationships are different depending upon the institution and its program-service mix. An institution with a Federal Title III Developing Institutions grant is quite involved with one Federal agency; other institutions of the same type would have no involvement at all. The principal divisions follow the flow of money, dividing institutions into public and private groupings and into locally funded community colleges, 100% state-funded community colleges, institutions which are predominantly teaching in function, and research institu-

tions which are involved in both research and teaching functions. Within each group there will be exceptions because of special interests or programs, but the basic pattern holds true.

Intersection of Institution and Agency

Changing relationships between institutions and government agencies are best understood by identifying and observing the intersection of specific institutional type and specific governmental agencies. For example, Community Colleges in southeastern Michigan, as in many parts of the country with "smokestack industries," have moved heavily into the training of robotics technicians. In so doing they have reflected not only their commitment to occupational education but also to a newer and stronger linkage with local and state government and to a concern for economic development. Research universities are finding that their funding options are less in the social science and social service agencies of Federal government and more in the defense sector. On some campuses this reality is a cause for concern, but it appears that most campuses are finding ways to reconcile these concerns with the need for resources in ways which are or purport to be compatible with established campus values.

State Planning and Coordination

State level higher education planning and coordination has developed in virtually all of the states, although its form and strength varies considerably from state to state. In most states this is a development of the past 30 years, and represents a new dimension of control over higher education. But that is only part of the story, since coordination frequently represents a restructuring of the organization of higher education. In some states this remains more a potentiality than a reality; in other states it is an accomplished fact. In large part the adjustment of colleges and universities to the existence of state higher education agencies has been completed. However, agency functions now are changing as the shift takes place from planning for growth (the function that most of these agencies were established to do and have learned to do best) to planning for decline.

It is said that state higher education agencies are becoming more centralized. It also is said that they are exerting more control and/or influence over state level decision-making and in some cases over institutional decision-making. Greater state level involvement in decision- making would appear to be a function of the types of decisions that are being made. State decisions no longer deal with how much institutionally proposed expansion can be approved and funded; instead they deal with cutbacks, maintenance of the status quo, or possibly with modest growth.

Given the fact that such decisions must be made at the state level by a specific agency or individual, it can be argued that it is preferable to have them made by professionals who are knowledgeable about higher education rather than by people who are not. Staff in state higher education agencies are likely to have such expertise; staff in alternative state agencies which could be assigned responsibility for working on higher education issues are less apt to have this expertise. It is important to recognize, however, that there also are changes in the staffing of other state level agencies. The budget and fiscal advisory offices which serve the governor and the legislature have come to include professional staff members conversant with higher education. Contrary to the common saying, familiarity

generally does not breed contempt. Some state level staff are skeptical or even cynical, but most of them know where to draw the line between tightening the belt and strangling the institution.

State level higher education planning has undergone fundamental change. A transition has been made from Master Plans to continuous planning. Now planning has shifted to flexible planning in which the direction may be set centrally (with varying degrees of institutional and constituent participation), but the specifics of follow-through are not decided centrally.

This more flexible planning is known by many names—contingency planning, strategic planning, and multiple scenario analysis to name a few. It should be welcomed by institutions and state agencies alike. Its emphasis on the importance of flexibility enhances the ability of the institution to respond to new developments regardless of whether they are negative adjustments or targets of opportunity. Detailed control at the state level is a "no win" proposition for both institutions and state agencies. This is true under nearly all circumstances, but it is particularly true when funds are tight and the ability to use them to best advantage depends upon flexibility.

Many state governments and higher education agencies are falling back on an old management principle which says it is better that decision-making remain close to the scene of the action. Centralized decisions are made only about those things which by their nature can only be decided at the state level. This development augurs well for future relationships between institutions and governmental agencies.

HIGHER EDUCATION LINKAGES WITH PRIVATE-SECTOR BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Harold McAninch

The state of the nation's economy and our competitiveness in the world market is currently approaching a crisis situation. Colleges and universities have always risen to the challenges faced by the nation in the past. Unfortunately, unlike a crisis stemming from an easily recognizable signal such as a war, the cause of the crisis we face today is not so easily identifiable. Not only is there universal disagreement as to its cause even where there is agreement, there is little consensus as to what should be done. The party presently in power espouses an ideology that the best way to overcome economic problems is through private sector initiatives. Others feel that this approach is much too simplistic and fails to address deeper social problems. While there may not be agreement as to causes or possible solutions, there is almost universal agreement that significant change is taking place.

Bud McMahon, Vice President of Corning Glass, in an address to the Association of Community College Trustees in October 1982, characterized this process of change as an economic transition rather than the usual normal cyclical swing. This transition has already had far reaching effects on industry and the competitive position of the United States in the world economy. One important feature of this transition characterized by McMahon is a major shift in technology.

Two important changes involve electronics and biology. Electronics has almost become a core curriculum for today's industry and is revolutionizing communications, information handling, entertainment, medicine, warfare, and education. Digital information is to this age what petroleum was to the last age—the main fuel for growth and development. (McMahon, 1983) The second area—biology, particularly molecular biology—is bringing about rapid change in agriculture, medicine, chemistry, environmental science and other fields that could not have been conceived in previous decades. These trends are already having a big impact on our education and training needs today and they will have an even greater impact in the future.

Dimensions of Human Resource Development

Let's look briefly at some of the dimensions of the human resource development challenge which the nation must address. Patrick Choate of TRW has very capably defined this problem in a monograph published by the Northeast-Midwest Institute, entitled "Retooling the American Work Force." In this paper he pointed out that:

- twenty percent of American adults are functionally illiterate.
- women are not being integrated into the work force effectively despite their dramatically growing numbers.
- workers with technologically essential skills are retiring in large numbers and replacements are not being trained.
- productivity in manufacturing is reduced through a turnover rate—almost a third of all workers annually.
- over the remainder of this century, perhaps 10 to 15 million manufacturing workers and an equal number of service employees will be displaced from their jobs due to robotization and foreign competition.

These are some of the challenges facing our society today—a major economic transi-

tion and a work force that will be untrained for jobs that will emerge in the 1990's. No comprehensive human resource policy has been formulated at the national level much less implemented to meet these challenges. Instead, some 23 separate pieces of legislation, including most notably the Vocational Education Act and New Job Training Partnership Act, deal with employment and training questions, with no systematic linkages or requirements for coordination. The nation finds itself in the context of a rapidly changing technologically-based economic infrastructure with no coordinated policy to meet the challenge of change. What is being done to meet the burgeoning worker training needs endemic to emerging occupations? Dale Parnell, President of AACJC, has called for a national economic policy on human resource development and training. This goal was adopted by the AACJC Board of Directors in 1981 and has become a major thrust of that organization.

Parnell has characterized this new policy as a four legged stool— requiring a research and development leg, a productivity leg, a monetary leg, and a human resource development leg (Parnell, 1982). This policy should have the same importance and magnitude as our foreign policy. That is, if the nation is to meet challenges implicit in retraining and foreign competition, there will be a need for an overall national policy or strategy. The task cannot be accomplished on an uncoordinated, piecemeal basis. This same conclusion was reached by the Business-Higher Education Forum in its report to the President in April 1983, entitled *America's Competitive Challenges*. Two principal problems are identified that underlie the failure of the nation to meet the challenges of industrial competitiveness on a global scale 1) an unwillingness to face the true nature and seriousness of the competitive challenge and 2) an inability to integrate the multitude of specific short term solutions into a multifaceted, long term response (Choate, 1982).

The report succinctly sums up the challenges facing our nation and calls for a national response in the following excerpt.

> We stand at the hinge of history with an unprecedented opportunity to combine the lessons of our past with the resources of our future to revitalize the economy, create more jobs and increase the standard of living.
>
> As a nation, we have the tools: a rich knowledge base: an energetic and creative people; a flexible form of democratic government; and a wealth of scientific advancements and technological breakthroughs waiting only to be put to productive use. Indeed, the richness and diversity of our resources imbues us with a special responsibility to utilize them for the good of not only our citizens, but for all mankind.
>
> The task will not be easy. It will call for institutional change as well as technological innovation. We must operate from a new world-wide perspective. We must find new approaches and forge new partnerships for coordinated action. Above all, we need a focused national commitment. We must start now.

Industry/Education Linkages

The challenges are evident and the higher education community along with business is aware of the need for a national focus or direction. Although there is no coordinated national policy, there are linkages being developed between business/industry and education to address newly-emerging manpower needs. The Business-Higher Education Forum is a major business education linkage at the national level brought into existence in 1978 under the auspices of the American Council on Education. In addition to the goal of

examining national policy issues, it addresses the evolution of future relationships through the availability of university faculty as consultants to industry and industrial support to education in areas of research and sophisticated equipment.

Some institutions are developing relationships with specific industries both at the university level and at the two-year community college level. The June 8, 1982, issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* announced that Digital Equipment and IBM are making gifts valued at $50 million to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to develop a computerized curriculum. While this is more in the way of a gift than an agreement, the corporations hope to develop coherence between machines which would allow one computer manufacturer's software to be used on the second company's hardware. Of course, there are commercial implications. M.I.T.'s Institute of Technology also offers services for industry which include an industrial liaison program for very large U.S. and foreign companies and the M.I.T. Associates for smaller companies.

Several other universities have, or are in the process of establishing research parks. Leading research-oriented companies are invited to utilize space in the park and a natural alliance unfolds between industry and education in the research field.

Another national linkage of great significance is the "Putting America Back to Work" effort jointly sponsored by the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges and the Association of Community College Trustees. This is a four pronged project encompassing the Kellogg Leadership Initiative, the Job Training Partnership Program, the Business-Industry Community College Coalition and the National Small Business Training Network. All of these projects are under the direction of the AACJC/AACT Joint Commission on Federal Relations. The Kellogg Leadership Initiative is under the direction of Nolen Ellison, on leave from the chancellorship of Cuyahoga Community College District, Cleveland, Ohio. Its purpose is to undertake a major corporate "friend raising" and networking project by informing business/industry executives about community college capabilities for employee training and to facilitate business-labor-college partnerships. The project is funded through a W. K. Kellogg Foundation grant to identify effective models of partnership already in existence and to help guide the development of new partnerships.

A major thrust of the Kellogg initiative is to promote the formulation of a comprehensive national human resource development policy. The project has amassed a wealth of information on current public-private cooperative endeavors based on exchange with executives of a number of national organizations, including the National Alliance for Business, National Governors' Association and International City Management Association, among others. Ellison lists three primary findings of the project to date.

1. It is clear that for most of its history, the two year community college has been relatively inward looking and insulated from the wider employment and training system. Times have changed dramatically and two year colleges are now forced to take a more externally focused, strategic approach to leadership planning and program development. This is proving to be a difficult transition for many institutions.
2. A large number of successful business/college partnerships have been launched throughout the country in recent years. A foundation is in place for further extension of two year colleges into a wider network or system.
3. Despite numerous examples of successful partnerships at the local level, it is obvious that at the national level, two year colleges have not significantly penetrated

the consciousness of organizations and institutions engaged in human resource development.

This last point can be readily observed if one examines the policy statements of national organizations that neglect to recognize community colleges as a major tool for human resource development, while citing secondary vocational education systems as the primary vehicle for skill training and retraining.

The second part of this overall effort deals with the Job Training Partnership Program. This program is designed to develop linkages with government in contrast to private industry because it is a federally funded act. The role of AACJC is to conduct seminars and workshops for professionals in the field to teach them how to take advantage of the program in order to train workers for business and industry. A key ingredient in the program is the need to work with the private industry councils that have been established at the local level in planning and implementing job training programs.

The third initiative is the National Small Business Training Network. The purpose of this program is to help reduce the failure rate of small businesses through a network of community, technical and junior colleges providing high quality, low cost small business management training. This project is an outgrowth of a grant from the small business administration to the AACJC to create a national small business training network. Its goals are to:

1. Provide the small business proprietor with a viable source for management training.
2. Establish linkages between Small Business Administration (SBA) field personnel and two year colleges to enhance local delivery of high quality, low-cost training.
3. Create a national data base on small business training offered by the nation's 1234 two year colleges.
4. Develop appropriate resources for two year colleges to more effectively organize and deliver training.

The NSTN puts out a quarterly newsletter with ideas to help small business coordinators. It also encourages state and regional development of small business networks and statewide small business development centers. The project has developed models for small business development and disseminated these models to the field through the network. A series of curriculum guides on specific courses or seminars to help small business has also been developed and made available on a national basis. This has been a highly successful program that, although national in scope, involves roots and action at the local level. A significant number of programs have been developed at the local level including but not limited to the establishment of small business development centers in local community college districts. One example is the Management Institute developed by J. Sargeant Reynolds Community College in Richmond, Virginia, which operates from rented facilities in a downtown business district. Pre-packaged contract training for specific business, as well as basic management seminars for the general public, are offered. Many other models have been developed across the nation and the Small Business Training Network has helped in this process. Last year the network delivered more than two million person hours of training to nearly 100,000 people.

The last component of the Putting America Back to Work effort is the Business-Industry Community College Coalition, headed by W. L. (Bud) McMahon, Corning Glass Works. Its purpose is to make community college staff and trustees more proactive in working with employees to train a skilled work force. The Steering committee of

BICCC has worked very closely with the President's task force on private sector initiatives and encouraged the formation of local BICCC's. The national office is concentrating on tapping senior corporate leadership to help guide colleges in developing program responses to emerging technology and changing skill needs of industry. The task force has developed a model for the formation of local business coalitions that is being widely used across the nation.

In addition to the above noted industry/education linkages at the national level, there are selected statewide initiatives that are significant. One such effort is currently underway in Illinois based on the need for improved business retention. The Illinois Department of Commerce and Community Affairs has developed an industry retention program in conjunction with local company sponsors, community colleges and local governmental agencies. The purpose of the program is to retain existing industries in a specific geographical region, to encourage their expansion, and to suggest viable new industries in order to retain jobs and taxes. The sponsoring companies, (often a local utility), local governmental agencies and community college representatives, call on business and industry, express interest in the company, appreciation for the company in the community and find out any problems the company may be having. A call team is set up for this purpose. In a larger area, the smaller industries are surveyed by mail. The results from this program have been very positive. First, there is an increased awareness on the part of industry that they are appreciated. Second, they learn what government and education can do to serve them better and, third, it gives faculty and administrators in educational institutions who are engaged in training an excellent contact for the future. They know who to talk with in developing training or retraining programs. It also becomes an excellent tool to help with the economic development of an area. In the district served by College of Dupage in Illinois, this program led to 354 person to person contacts with business and industry.

Another outstanding example of linkages between education and business at the state level is in North Carolina under the leadership of Governor Hunt. The state is utilizing its community college system to help attract industry. The community college system is viewed as the presumptive delivery system for training and retraining. If an industry wishes to move to North Carolina, the state guarantees the availability of a trained work force when they open their doors; it does this through the training programs of its community college system. Such a program has paid excellent dividends in attracting new industry to that state as well as the expansion of industry already in place. More than 350,000 adults are currently enrolled in specific job training programs in North Carolina.

Linkages at the local level are taking place as well. In fact, it appears that developments in this area of business/education cooperation are expanding rapidly. There are many examples that can be cited to demonstrate what is happening.

1. Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland is one of several colleges tied into the Small Business Training Network. Each quarter more than 250 persons enroll in one or more of six core subjects designed to offer fledgling small business owners and managers the practical know-how necessary for small business success. The curriculum focuses on entrepreneurship and related subjects such as accounting, economics, and marketing.
2. In 1981, General Motors announced a program to add 60 community colleges to its network because of what a few model programs had accomplished in training workers. James G. Vorhes, G.M. vice president in charge of consumer relations and

service staff said, "We have turned to the teaching professionals—the community colleges which are so effectively training students in a number of significant vocations—and we have been very satisfied with their response. The number of dealer technicians receiving training is expected to increase from 90,000 to 100,000 a year. Macomb County Community College and Delta College in Michigan were two of the first institutions selected for the program.

Another example of local industry/education linkages is the Institute for Community Assistance established at Portland Community College in 1969. Among the services offered by the Institute are: short courses, workshops, year long and multi-year programs, consulting services and research activities. College faculty, part-time employees and, when necessary, consultants, are employed to deliver the programs. In the period from July 1, 1981, to June 30, 1982, the institute served 71 different institutions, including 11 associations and unions, 20 public agencies, and 40 businesses. It is interesting to note that the institute staff have developed a comprehensive guide for *Establishing and Maintaining Linkages* with local business and industry.

There are many different models for contracting with business and industry identified in the booklet *Community College Center for Contracted Programs*. It is important to mention that restructuring of the organization may be necessary to work cooperatively with business and industry. A great number of colleges have chosen to establish separate offices to do industry contracting. There are many reasons underlying this trend. One is flexibility. Most regular curricular processes will not allow colleges to react quickly to set up a program in time to respond to business and industry needs. Therefore, there is a need to establish a separate decision structure or organization. Creative administrators and faculty in innovative colleges are finding ways around this problem.

Conclusion

There is obviously a national need and recognition of need for business-industry linkages with education. Although there is no focused national policy there is a readiness factor evident among business, and educational institutions. Interesting linkages are being developed and can provide models for the future. Nolen Ellison observed in testimony to the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education at a December 1982, meeting that a "powerful momentum is building for private-public cooperation at the local level," and that only two choices are open to the educational community: "To take the initiative and play a leadership role in the creation of new local partnerships; or to have our necks jerked unceremoniously at a serious cost in public trust and institutional credibility." It is apparent that the educational community and business/industry must form linkages. They must do so not only for their own self interest, but for the economic health of the nation and the way of life its citizens have grown accustomed to. Although a national policy on human resource development would provide focus and direction, local and state linkages cannot wait. They should be developed now so that they can serve as a foundation for national policy when and if it is developed.

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ASSESSING PROGRAM QUALITY

Robert T. Blackburn

Today, a variety of social forces has made program quality perhaps the single most important issue in higher education. Public disenchantment with educational institutions, pressures for accountability, and declining resources are but three factors that have precipitated a renewed interest in quality. State systems of higher education often must decide which programs to retain in the face of declining enrollments and limited resources. Many private liberal arts colleges must demonstrate for their very survival that their high costs are linked to quality education. Local tax revolts are forcing many community colleges to decide which programs to eliminate. The federal government and private foundations need to identify quality programs before investing their limited resources.

The Meanings of Quality

> Quality . . . you know what it is, yet you don't know what it is. But that's self contradictory. But some things are better than others. that is they have more quality. But when you try to say what that quality is, apart from the things that have it, it all goes poof! There's nothing to talk about. But if you can't say what quality is, how do you know that it even exists? If no one knows what it is, then for all practical purposes it doesn't exist. But for all practical purposes it does exist. What else are the grades based on? Why else would people pay fortunes for some things and throw others in the trash pile? Obviously, some things are better than others . . . but what's the "betterness" . . . So round and round you go, spinning mental wheels and nowhere finding any place to get traction. What the hell is Quality? What is it? (Pirsig, 1975, p. 179)

As Pirsig concluded, the concept of quality is as elusive as it is pervasive. The difficulty of definition makes it not unlike obtaining general consensus on what is pornographic. When Justice Potter Stewart remarked "I can't define it, but I know it when I see it," he in part was admitting that it would be impossible to obtain universal agreement on the concept.

While universal agreement on the concept of quality is impossible, we can illuminate the concept even while acknowledging that quality has multiple meanings and that no single definition will be acceptable to all people. It is particularly useful to examine the ways the term is used in different cultures and in different contexts. Program quality is not likely to be the same in a highly rated research university as it is in a state college as it is in a selective liberal arts college as it is in an open admissions four- year institution as it is in an urban community college—and so on.

Before illuminating the meanings of quality by contrasting it with excellence—and other concepts such as goal accomplishment, efficiency, accountability, and effectiveness—it is useful to examine some of the major elements or ingredients of quality as it is commonly defined in our colleges and universities. By itself, no single dimension will be a sufficient condition of quality, and none will even be a necessary condition in all people's eyes and in all contexts. Each, however, appears at one time or another in someone's meaning of quality.

To begin, quality programs are almost always related to characteristics of the faculty responsible for the implementation of the curriculum. In fact, as will be seen below, studies of program quality frequently seem to be nothing more than efforts to ascertain *faculty* quality.

Others—as one moves out from highly-rated research universities to consider other

types of colleges and universities—consider *facilities*, *support*, the *curriculum*, and *student* attributes as dimensions of quality. For example, a program of high quality is presumed to have the facilities necessary for its success such as well-equipped laboratories, appropriate library holdings, computers, and all the material products needed for the desired learning to take place. In a similar vein, a quality program is one with adequate *support* or resources to maintain the operation and to provide funds for faculty travel. In addition, the *curriculum* of a high quality program is one that has all of the essential ingredients—such as variety and depth of courses. *Students* exist in sufficient numbers such that there is an adequate mix to foster learning from one another and yet not so many students that individualized attention is lost.

In addition to these more frequently appearing elements of quality, some individuals identify other less quantifiable attributes of a quality program: *leadership*, *esprit*, *morale*, *clarity of purpose*, and a healthy *organizational climate*. For many, a quality program is more like a living organism than a collection of component parts. It cannot be reduced to a set of numbers. It has direction and is moving toward a goal.

While individuals will nod their heads affirmatively when such words as esprit are introduced into a discussion of program quality, it is usually not clear that all participants attach the same meaning to the terms. Seldom are such concepts operationalized, indicators for them agreed upon, and evidence collected so as to ascertain the extent of their existence and their degree of relationship to the more common ingredients of quality. This is not to say that such components as morale and leadership are not a part of quality; rather, one finds that as yet they have not been especially helpful in attempts to determine the relative quality of programs.

Another set of terms sometimes advanced in discussions of quality are similar to the above in terms of their nebulousness, but they are somewhat different in kind. They tend to address personal dimensions, like *achievement*, *persistence*, *purpose*, *worth*, *beauty*, *meritoriousness*, and *character*. No doubt these terms are a part of many people's notion of quality. That they also introduce complications when it comes to their assessment does not mean that they are not important. In fact, it is this richness of the concept of quality that leads Kuh (1981) to argue for taking a holistic approach to the assessment of quality. He believes that breaking out components that are measurable vitiates the essence of the concept itself.

The meaning of quality can also be illuminated by comparing and contrasting it with other concepts that are employed in discussions of programs. Four frequently employed terms are *accountability*, *efficiency*, *effectiveness*, and *excellence*. *Accountability* implies that a program is at least adequate, as does each of the other terms. A program that meets some minimum set of standards and achieves its goals is said to be accountable. Quality, on the other hand, suggests that essentially complete goal fulfillment is attained, not just an acceptable amount. In this way, *quality* is more inclusive than is *accountability*. In addition, demonstrating the accountability of a program frequently implies legitimizing its existence for others. If a program can do so, then it has established its existence. It is accountable. At the same time, a quality program also will be accountable to others, but it is more than that. Again, *accountability* is implied by *quality*, but not vice versa.

Efficiency, like accountability, carries an economic overtone. Once goals to be achieved are established, alternative programs for attaining them are advanced. The superior program is the one which is most efficient. The efficient program is the one which will

accomplish the same ends as another program but with less cost or in less time, or both. A quality program will more likely be efficient than inefficient. In fact, parsimony is one of the attributes of beauty, a high value for those who strive for quality. However, persons advocating quality will place efficiency farther down on their list of critical elements for judging what is best. They expect efficiency, but they ask for more than that when they insist on quality.

As Cameron and Whetten (1983) make clear, investigators of organizational *effectiveness* do not agree as to the meaning of the term in the large body of studies that have been conducted under its name. The reasons for the differences are many, just as they are for the meaning of quality. And because they are multiple, it is all but impossible to contrast each of the meanings of effectiveness with each of the multiple meanings of quality. At the same time, some contrasts can be made. In judging program effectiveness in contrast to its quality, effectiveness is likely to concentrate on how well outcomes are achieved. Those assessing relative quality, while paying attention to outcomes, will also be examining process. In the case of an academic program, more than the structure will be observed. For example, one would look at the living environment and the amount and kind of student/faculty interaction. Pace (1980) describes the day to day operation of an academic program along a number of scales called "quality of student effort" and means by this phrase something more than effectiveness. Effectiveness subsumes efficiency but does not include all that is meant by quality.

When it comes to the concepts of *excellence* and *quality*, the line of demarcation becomes blurred at the same time as it becomes thinner. While John Gardner (1961) was not the first writer to address excellence, his book set a tone that continues today. Like quality, excellence carries with it a dimension of style, not just an outstanding accomplishment but in addition the manner in which the accomplishment is achieved. Both excellence and quality imply the highest standards and an unwillingness to settle for anything less than that which could be achieved. Excellence may even be the more egalitarian term for frequently quality is identified with a snobbish elitism, especially in higher education. Writers in the field invariably talk about the top-ranked graduate schools as the elite, the institutions with "high quality" programs as if quality cannot exist in all other settings.

Nonetheless, a minor distinction can be noted between the two terms. It seems as if excellence is used more frequently in connection with the acts of an individual whereas quality is the label that is placed on a more complex set of things, like an organization or a program. Still, the ingredients for both are essentially identical. The term "quality" is used here partly for this reason and partly because it pervades the literature. In addition, despite its ambiguities, the term is not likely to disappear. Quality carries too great a valence to be grounded by dialectical analysis.

Types of Studies

Much recent literature has focused on the assessment of program quality. Aside from program evaluations at individual institutions, which are not reviewed here, program evaluation research has been aimed primarily at assessing and ranking departments, professional schools, and sometimes entire colleges and universities. In these evaluation studies, quality has been assessed either through a "reputational" approach or through an approach based on "objective" indicators of quality. More recently, there has emerged a

third approach to research on program quality. Instead of evaluating program quality, this line of research has focused on the identification of quantifiable program characteristics associated with programs considered to be of high quality.

There is a pressing need to assess program quality not just in the nation's most visible universities but also in programs that are scattered across nearly 3,000 other institutions. A search of the literature uncovered few such studies, and those efforts, for the most part, were not successful. In short, there are practical and theoretical needs to expand the level of program assessment, for what has been done so far is limited primarily to the Ph.D. and professional degree levels.

Recent efforts to move beyond the elite institutions are beginning to bear some fruit (Conrad and Blackburn, 1984a; Conrad and Blackburn, 1984b). In brief, extensive data have been collected on all public four-year colleges and universities in two states. The data include institutional self-studies and reports, public documents from the states, HEGIS reports, data collected from site visits, vita on all faculty in departments of biology, chemistry, education, history, and mathematics, and, most important, the evaluation reports of outside teams of peers who reviewed the programs. None of the institutions are in the Carnegie Research University-I classification; most are regional colleges. The departments studied were principally at the master's level.

One important finding has been that faculty scholarship accounts for only 28% of the variance in departmental quality in these colleges and universities, not the 50% to 80% that is usually found when leading Ph.D. programs are examined. Hagstrom concluded (1971, p. 385) that there is little need to extend the number of measures when several will account for over 70% of the variation. But it has been necessary to introduce other variables, conceptually as well as operationally, in order to predict program quality in regional colleges and universities.

In addition to collecting information on faculty attributes, data have been systematically obtained on program characteristics (curriculum), facilities, students, and support. Future research is needed along the dimensions just indicated, and on other aspects as well. For example, Pace (1980) has developed instruments for estimating the quality of student effort in a program, a series of scales that rest on the assumption that the quality of a student's education depends in part on how well she or he makes use of what the institution has available. Pace's findings show variation across institutions but as yet there have not been systematic studies which link his scales to an independent assessment of program quality.

Along a similar vein, Clark, Hartnet, and Baird (1976) developed for ETS a set of instruments which contain a variety of dimensions expected to be related to program quality at both the masters' and doctoral level. In addition to the typical faculty indicators, Clark included student assessment of instruction and general satisfaction with a program. Her scales also include data collected from alumni. As yet, however, there have not been large scale studies of program quality against an independent measure. They, too, should be on the agenda of future research.

In studies in progress, we have noted the mention of leadership in connection with program quality in more than one peer assessment report. A department often would be considered "weak," i.e., of lower quality, when the department chair was judged ineffective or if there was not imaginative leadership at the dean or vice-presidential level.

In addition to leadership, many of the peer assessment reports in our study mentioned

esprit, morale, clarity of purpose, and a healthy organizational climate as factors contributing to program quality. While there are few readily available quantifiable indicators for these variables, this does not mean that they cannot be created. We are persuaded that a profitable area of research would be to develop ways of estimating such variables and then relating them to program quality.

Finally, as attempts are made to assess the quality of programs at other levels—at the bachelor's and, say, in remedial English in community colleges, we believe ever-increasing attention must be paid to the environment in which a program resides. Indicators of the environment will need to be included to predict accurately a degree of quality. For example, the quality of a biology department may be highly dependent upon the quality of the chemistry department.

In conclusion, there will doubtless continue to be controversy surrounding any approach to studying program quality. For no matter how it is approached, "quality" is ultimately based on subjective judgments. At the same time, a review and critique of the literature suggests that researchers can improve the designs for studying quality. Given the concern over quality in the nation's colleges and universities by the public and the profession, researchers need to address with alacrity the research agenda on program quality.

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LIBERATING EDUCATION: FOUR PRINCIPLES FOR THE CURRICULUM

John Nichols and Zelda F. Gamson

"Knowledge does not keep any better than fish. One may be dealing with knowledge of the old species, with some old truth; but somehow or other it must come to the students, as it were, just drawn out of the sea . . ." (Whitehead, 1959).

The idea of breadth is common to many discussions of liberal education. Indeed, breadth is the essential trait that sets off liberal education from specialized education (Hirst, 1974). Calls for experience in many disciplines (Halliburton, 1977), endorsements of a wide survey of cultures (Brubacher, 1977), and current concern for the cultivation of a global outlook (Bowen, 1977, Leestma, 1979; National Assembly, 1980) are common in writing on the undergraduate curriculum. Those who speak about liberal education from the perspective of the professions and vocations also assume comprehensiveness: Workers in business and government must be "generalists" who can coordinate data from many angles, solve many different kinds of problems, and deal with many different kinds of people (Beck, 1981). Human service workers are expected to help clients with a variety of social, personal, and economic problems and must, therefore, have a broad education to be effective (Cohen, 1981).

Breadth refers to the sheer number of subjects encompassed in a curriculum; it says nothing explicit about how to go about selecting certain subjects from the enormous number of possibilities. Liberating education suggests a principle of selection: *diversity*. If education is to bring students to a broad awareness of their lives from different perspectives, then what they study must include a variety of subjects and points of view. Exactly what subjects and which points of view depend on student characteristics and the purposes of particular programs and institutions.

The concept of diversity can best be demonstrated through examples from National Project IV, *Examining the Varieties of Liberal Education*, a project sponsored by the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education that brought together fourteen very different approaches to liberal education. For the Federated Learning Communities at Stony Brook (New York), diversity comes from juxtaposing the approaches of three or more disciplines to an over-arching contemporary problem. At Core at Saint Joseph's (Indiana), diversity means exposure to alternative world views and cultures. Even single courses like English 001 at Northern Virginia Community College's Intertwine Program can build in diversity by incorporating students' diverse backgrounds into class assignments and discussions, by drawing on work in several disciplines, and by varying assignments so that different capacities can be exercised. A course that is not usually considered part of a liberal education can also reach for diversity. In the African American Music Program at SUNY-Old Westbury, for example, majors must engage in a year-long course in African American music which draws on history, economics, and sociology to understand the development of African music. In a section on music in the 1930s in the United States, students learn about the effects of the Depression on the economics of the band. They trace the impact of the Communist Party on racial integration and the subsequent careers of black musicians.

Diversity implies nothing about how subjects are organized in relation to one another. Hence, we introduce another principle: *integration*. Subjects can be integrated with one another or they can be fragmented. It is commonplace to say that one of the problems with

the undergraduate curriculum today is that it has failed to pay adequate attention to the connections among the subjects taught (Conrad and Wyer, 1980; Carnegie, 1977). This is a serious failure. For a long time, the essence of a liberal education has been seen to be the development of an integrative habit of mind (Newman, 1959). Arguments for integration continue today (Hazzard, 1979). Researchers are beginning to come up with evidence showing that curricula which encourage the integration of ideas and skills produce the greatest growth in student's capacity to think critically, whereas distribution requirements without an integrative rationale do not have this effect (Winter, McClelland and Stewart, 1981; Forrest, 1981). Writing across the curriculum, an approach to teaching writing within regular courses, is gaining favor across the country (Griffin, 1982). Calls for more integration are coming from traditionalists, who see the Great Books or core curricula as ways of overcoming the fragmentation and instrumentalism of the undergraduate curriculum (Brann, 1979; Boyer and Levine, 1981), and from reformers, who argue that individual development, particularly for adult students, depends on more curricular coherence (Chickering, 1981).

Achieving integration demands a good bit more effort than diversity, which does not ask that individual faculty members or departments change their normal practices much. Integration pushes in a direction that is quite the opposite. If the students should not be asked to integrate what the faculty cannot, as a University of Chicago dean has put it, ways must be devised to make faculty achieve integration that either bring the disciplines together in new ways, work around them, or eliminate them altogether. What devices are pursued in a particular institution will depend on imagination, resources, and traditions.

The most common example of integration from some of the programs in National Project IV is the special integrative seminar at the end of a sequence of study. The team-taught seminars at the University of Oklahoma's College of Liberal Studies for students who complete requirements in social science, natural science and humanities, as well as the inter-area seminars for students who complete all their requirements are one device. The senior seminars at Hampshire College on contemporary issues for students with different concentrations, and the senior core courses at Saint Joseph's, in which students address ethical and social issues from the perspective of their major fields are others. Less common are mechanisms that require faculty to work together in planning a curriculum that has a common, integrative rationale, as in the New School of Liberal Arts at Brooklyn College, where faculty teaching in a cluster of courses in the same historical period worked on a coordinated basis with one another. Other examples include the faculty seminars in the Federated Learning Communities at Stony Brook preceding the term they teach and the special integrative seminars while they teach, and the student-faculty planning group for Core at Saint Joseph's. In individualized programs where a common curriculum or seminar does not bind courses together, advisors and mentors work with students to help them integrate the various subjects they are pursuing, as at Hampshire College.

Diversity and integration speak to the scope and the organization of a curriculum. We still do not have a basis for selecting *what* is taught. This question has provoked commentary on the structure of the curriculum for a long time. At one time, the basis for most curricula was religious. One studied those things that were deemed to be proper in the eyes of God. As knowledge and higher education became secular, the disciplines provided the basis for the curriculum in most colleges and universities. We argue, in contrast, that the

basis for a liberating curriculum is experiential. A curriculum that is grounded on students' experiences establishes a linkage between what they already know and what they study. The opposite of "experiential" is "academic"—knowledge that no longer has anything to do with the world. For the disciplines to avoid being merely academic, they must "reach down into struggles with *life* and show students how struggle can illuminate what they experienced themselves." They must confront the student with "exemplars of those real problems that circumscribe the human condition and that are amenable to some resolution only through the exercise of conceptual thought and its tools" (Woditsch, 1977, p. 25).

Experiential has been used in recent years in several different ways—as denoting what is learned from life experience, especially in programs for adults; and as specific classroom techniques, such as role-playing and simulation games; as out-of-class work, such as internships and original research. By "experiential," we mean content that is based on experiences that students have already had or that induces certain direct experiences. "Experiential" must not be taken as focused primarily on the self. What is taught may begin with students' personal experience but quickly move beyond this level to what others have experienced in other times and places and to general frameworks of understanding. Put another way, life sets the agenda for the curriculum. This means that biology taught as a liberating subject might start with subjects that are familiar to students—sexuality, IQ—and then show them how the principles of the field can illuminate such subjects (Carlson, 1981). Sociology taught as a liberating subject might start with students' experiences with authority at school or work and then turn to the writings of Max Weber to help them understand those experiences in a more fundamental way.

A curriculum that is experiential can include many different subjects. Some programs start with characteristics that are likely to make students' experiences different from that of others, showing them why this might be so and how it compares to the experience of other groups. The Program on Women at Northwestern and Hofstra's labor studies program are examples of this approach. Other programs, in contrast, begin with more universal experiences. Core at Saint Joseph's College is the best example. Others start with pressing issues such as world hunger, as in the Federated Learning Communities at Stony Brook.

Whatever the particular subject under study, a liberating curriculum must include content that helps students move back and forth between awareness and application, engagement and detachment. For this to happen, the curriculum must also be *critical*. The opposite is a curriculum based on unexamined assumptions, whether they be held by authorities or ordinary citizens, conservatives or liberals. The primary task of a liberating curriculum is to help students reflect on their lives and society—and to do so aggressively, testing experience, probing it, eventually moving beyond it.

An important expression of a critical attitude in several of the programs is the way they encourage students to analyze how different institutions—the family, school, work organizations—have shaped their ideas and values. This is most obvious in the Program on Women at Northwestern University and the labor studies program at Hofstra, but it also animates the selection of course topics at the Institute of Study for Older Adults at New York City Technical College, the way the mentor in the External Degree Program at Johnson State College and faculty at Hampshire challenge students to articulate what they are learning, and in the comparative devices built into the structure of Core at Saint Joseph's and the Federated Learning Communities. All are different approaches to motivating students to think critically.

The selection of what is to be taught in most colleges and universities is usually not principled—that is, based on some principles that give a philosophical and pedagogical justification for subject matter. We have said that a liberating curriculum is diverse, integrative, experiential, and critical. Whether or not they agree with these four principles, faculty members must be much more self-conscious about why they wish to teach certain subjects. They have a responsibility to press one another to justify why they teach what they do. They will find, in the process, that their subjects take on new life.

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THE FACULTY AS A RENEWABLE RESOURCE

W. J. McKeachie

Colleges and universities have limited resources. In most institutions these resources have been declining. In some institutions budgets have shrunk; in most, they have not kept pace with inflation. Despite the fact of budget cuts, despite reductions in capital expenditures, despite contraction in numbers of faculty, there is still one major university resource which has elasticity—faculty time and energy.

Time is not unlimited, but it does make a substantial difference whether faculty members spend 35 hours a week on university work or 70 hours a week—and 35 to 70 hours does not even represent the full range of current faculty effort. For example, there are faculty members at the University of Michigan who work fewer than 35 hours a week and faculty members who work more than 70 hours a week. The latter work long hours not out of some sense of outside pressure but because they enjoy their work.

Not only does the faculty represent a resource with some elasticity, it is also a resource that is renewable. We hear a great deal these days about mid-life crises, academic menopause, the crisis of the aging faculty, the terrible consequences of the tenure system, and the need to get rid of dead wood—all of these representing stereotypic beliefs about the downward course of vitality and productivity among the mature faculty. The facts, of course, are not nearly as frightening. At issue are the questions: What do we know about aging? What happens biologically, psychologically, sociologically, and most important, what happens to performance?

Aging

Although an optimistic view of aging is merited, one cannot deny real declines in certain functions. Our vision, our hearing, our reaction time, our sensorimotor functions generally show decline in later life. Fortunately we can compensate for losses in some of these dimensions, and most of them have little impact upon academic performance.

There are several hormonal changes with age. For men, adrenalin and noradrenalin decline after about age 50, and for both men and women there are changes in the testosterone and estrogen balance. But again, these changes interact with environmental changes in ways that make it difficult to link them directly to changes in performance. There are great individual differences, and the hormonal changes associated with aging seem to be strongly affected by psychological and social influences.

What about psychological changes? Probably the area of most concern to academicians is that of intelligence. Here the news is generally good. In an earlier period the prevailing belief was that intellectual peak was achieved in the late teens or early twenties, and everything went downhill from that point on. This generalization was based upon cross-sectional studies in which intelligence of people of different backgrounds was assessed without taking sufficient account of the fact that education has varied across the generations. When studies were made of individuals who had first been tested in the post-World War I period and then were tested 30 years later or more, the findings were quite different. The scores *increased* with additional age, rather than decreased. In the last 10 or 20 years, a great many studies of intellectual changes with age have been made, and it appears that verbal intelligence—the abilities involving vocabulary and information— tend to increase to middle or old age. Probably a professor will still score higher at age 80 than he or she

did at age 20. Other intellectual abilities involving novel materials, such as reorganization of figures or shapes, may begin declining in the 50s. One of the factors here is probably practice. A saying in gerontology is, "Use it or lose it." Those abilities that we use and practice seem to be maintained rather well, while those that are not practiced tend to decline. Thus, individuals who are skilled in a particular area, such as a scholarly discipline, and have continued to work in that discipline, continue to improve or maintain a high level of ability. Those abilities that are not well-developed are likely to be neglected, and thus to decline. I can remember marvelling at Arthur Rubenstein at a concert in Madrid when he was approaching 90, and we all know of people like Picasso, Casals, famous chessmasters, and others who have remarkable ability at advanced ages. Studies of chessmasters indicate an important generalization. High levels of performance in older people do not necessarily mean that their abilities have simply increased or stayed level. Frequently they have adopted new strategies which make less demand on declining abilities and make effective use of the abilities that are maintained.

Another factor related to aging is attitude toward time. For a good part of our lives, we think of time in terms of our age since birth. Children will volunteer, "I'm three, going on four." In the academic world, we frequently think of time in terms of years since Ph.D. "He got his Ph.D. ten years ago, but he seems a little slow in getting out his publications."

At some point in our lives we change from counting years since birth or since Ph.D. to counting the years left. It is not uncommon to notice that whereas one's academic career seemed to stretch without limits in younger days, hitting age 60 seems to have a psychological impact in which thought begins about the number of years left. How many have experienced this phenomenon? When does the shift occur? Obviously such a change has important consequences for one's attitudes and motives.

Sociological changes are also important as we think about an aging faculty and their renewal. Older faculty are expected to play different roles than younger faculty. A young faculty member can make comments and be excused as bright, bumptious, but lacking experience. The older faculty member is expected to be the voice of experience, displaying wisdom and judgment; silly comments from an older academic are likely to be interpreted as signs of impending senility. It is not uncommon for older faculty members to be asked to take on administrative work, to serve on committees, to act as mentors, and to take on other roles that make use of their experience and presumed wisdom. These are not bad activities. Effective use of human resources implies drawing upon faculty strengths, and assignment to mentorship or important committees may be a very useful way of challenging an individual to develop new interests and new enthusiasms.

But there are also negative aspects of the roles we expect older faculty to play. Young chairpersons are often unwilling to challenge the right of the older faculty member to continue teaching "his course" even though the course may no longer be needed in the curriculum or needs to be rejuvenated. Often a chairperson is unwilling to ask older faculty members to take on tasks which they have done in the past but which are seen as being below the dignity of senior faculty. Thus an individual who at one time was a successful teacher at the undergraduate level may be restricted to graduate level teaching because the introductory courses are typically taught by graduate students and assistant professors. The result is likely to be that the older academic gets in a rut which provides too little stimulation, too few challenges.

This brief review of biological, psychological, and sociological changes with age has dealt with some aspects of faculty performance. What is the evidence of the relationship between age and faculty performance in teaching and research?

With respect to teaching, our major sources of evidence are studies of student ratings of older and younger faculty. There are relatively few data following individual professors over their careers; the data we have are primarily derived from cross-sectional studies in which younger and older faculty members are compared. The general finding is that student ratings of teaching are lower for teachers in their first year or two of teaching, but relatively unrelated to age after that. Contrary to the common belief that faculty members stop trying once they have achieved tenure, teaching effectiveness seems to be maintained. The perception that there are large numbers of faculty members who are completely ineffective is contradicted by data such as those we have found in our own studies revealing that 90% of University of Michigan faculty members for whom student ratings have been collected are rated as "excellent" teachers by the majority of their students. There is no evidence that there are large numbers of faculty members who are perceived by their students as being incompetent or "dead wood."

Similarly, with respect to research productivity, Pelz and Andrews (1966) found that productivity does not drop off when tenure is attained. In their studies of research productivity, both in academic settings and in large research organizations, there seem to be two peaks, one in the late 30s and early 40s and the second in the early 50s. Helen Astin, in a recent national study reported at the 1983 meetings of the American Association for Higher Education, found that the youngest and oldest faculty members were most productive. Here again, we find no evidence of major losses of effectiveness with age.

A review of the evidence on aging leads to two major conclusions:

1. Individuals vary significantly, and these variations are likely to increase with age so that generalizations about older faculty are generally not applicable to all individuals. Thus, in looking at the faculty as a resource, we should look at individual cases rather than age groups.
2. Individuals have the ability to change at all ages. At one time it was commonly believed that personality, intelligence, and other basic individual characteristics were fixed by age five and that continuity and stability was the general picture of human development. Today, lifespan development research has shown that there is much less continuity in the lives of individuals than was commonly believed. Where continuity and stability are found, they are often the results of a relatively constant environment rather than of any built-in rigidity. Individuals retain remarkable capacities for change throughout their lives.

Continuity and stability among older faculty may often result from acceptance of stereotypes about age by senior academics themselves. How many times have you heard an older faculty member say, "I'm too old to change now" or "It's too late to start something new now"?

Challenging the stereotypes does not imply that we should close our eyes to real problems. Faculty members do differ in productivity. They differ from one another and they differ from time to time. At times, faculty members joyfully work 70 to 80 hours a week, and other times they grudgingly do little more than meet their classes. At times, they are thinking of new and better ways of teaching, are creative in their research, and are helpful in solving the problems of the university; at other times they teach the conventional

material, depend upon their students to carry out their research, and sleep through committee meetings. What are the conditions that make the difference? First let's look at some of the negative factors and then look at positive factors contributing to productivity—factors that administrators might consider in enhancing faculty productivity or in renewing faculty resources.

Dead Wood

As I indicated earlier, dead wood is rare, and it is real. Most faculty members and administrators know one or two faculty members who have somehow failed to achieve the promise that was seen when they were promoted to tenure and who seem to have given up trying to achieve legitimate academic goals. To deal with the dead wood problem, we need to think about *why* people become "dead wood." How many faculty started academic careers with the intention of becoming dead wood? Nobody starts out intending to become dead wood, and nobody enjoys being perceived as being "dead wood."

Perhaps we can gain some understanding of the problem if we look at some of the factors which influence careers. Richard Ochberg, a doctoral student at the University of Michigan, has recently completed a thesis studying males in the middle years of life in relationship to their careers. The career is viewed as a resolution of basic personality needs, some of which date back to problems arising in early childhood. A career represents choices which enable the individual to cope with conflict but at times the resolution becomes shaky because it fails to satisfy all of the needs in conflict. Ochberg uses the concept of "career trajectory." In our culture, advancement in a career is important, and public signs of advancement are used as markers in judging one's progress. We build up a sense of momentum which carries us forward from one marker to another. For assistant professors, a major goal is achieving tenure. As indicated in other publications, the current heavy emphasis on high quantities of research productivity and concern about competition with one's peers is likely to diminish research productivity in the long run and to take much of the fun out of a long-term academic career (McKeachie, 1982).

But even for those who achieve tenure, momentum may not be sustained. Most faculty members—according to the studies of Braskamp, Fowler and Ory (1982)—attempt, after achieving tenure, to seek a balance between professional and personal goals. They are able to work toward more distant goals. But the slope of advancement may be too steep for some. Accidents occur. Ten percent of adults have a major illness or injury that makes it hard for them to work. Interpersonal events intervene. Braskamp and his colleagues found that family and personal relationships are very important to faculty members. One of the things contributing to a lack of stress of academics, according to French, Caplan and Harrison (1982), is that professors feel that their families and friends value their work. Thus when marital conflict, divorce, illness in a family, or death of a spouse occurs, energy is sapped, so that the whole career trajectory may slope downward. Problems with children, children's health, children's school problems, or behavioral problems generally also absorb energy. One wonders whether or not Levinson's 40-year-olds experiencing a mid-life crisis had teenage children with special problems! Sometimes one problem even leads to another so that rather than a temporary plateau or decline in productivity, things go from bad to worse. Obviously, events at home interact with those on the job. Good

family relationships can facilitate the release of energy on the job just as a person happy in work can be a happier and more effective member of the family.

Similarly, stress on the job can lead to loss of productivity. Department chairs or administrators who are critical and unappreciative of good work, incompatible colleagues, a sense of not being respected or appreciated for what one is doing—all of these can result in lowered involvement in work. While the transition from associate professor to full professor is not usually viewed as being as critical as the one from assistant to associate, individuals whose promotion is delayed or who do not make full professor are likely to lose enthusiasm for their job and displace their energy to other activities. In some cases, hobbies such as golf, tennis or card playing may absorb time; in other cases, energy is used more constructively in positions of community service. Individuals may also devote themselves to outside consulting or moneymaking activities or even to committee work within the university. Such displacement activities are not unique to academia. Heinz Heckhausen has studied German business executives and found a similar phenomenon among many executives who reach the end of their advancement before achieving the presidency.

The discouragement and sense of lack of worth of those who are stopped short of full professorship has led some to feel that greater productivity might be achieved if, after a reasonable period of time, we promote everyone to full professor. The dead wood phenomenon fits in many ways with a theory developed by Seligman and others at University of Pennsylvania about a phenomenon first observed in the laboratory called "learned helplessness" (Seligman, et al., 1975). Originally, the learned helplessness phenomenon was observed in dogs who, after experiencing a series of uncontrollable shocks, were no longer able to learn to avoid shock as normal dogs did. Even in situations which required only minimal movement, such as walking from one part of the cage to another, the dogs simply cowered and prepared to receive the shock rather than escaping from it. Seligman suggested that individuals who experience a number of failures are likely to develop the same sort of tendency to give up and feel depressed. As research testing this theory with human beings proceeded, it became apparent that it is not so much a matter of experiencing unhappy events, but the effect of these events upon our expectations for the future. That is, if we perceive that a particular failure experience indicates a decline in our abilities or a change in the situation which points to a limited future, we are likely to become depressed and to give up. Such experiences are not terribly uncommon these days. Today's faculty member, recruited in the 1950s and 1960s during the period of expansion, was promoted to full professor at a time when there were many graduate students and when teaching loads were relatively light and involved largely graduate teaching. The cutback in graduate admissions, the need for undergraduate teaching, which had previously been seen as unworthy of "mature scholars," and the changes in availabilities of research grants, together with the bleak national economy and predictions about the dark days ahead for higher education can all lead to an expectation that the future is not going to be as bright as was dreamed of in one's early days as an academician. It takes only a couple of grant proposal rejections to lead one to wonder whether or not one is still competent. Similarly, poor student ratings for a few classes may lead one to question one's ability to maintain rapport, to understand and work effectively with students. It may take only a few such events to lead to the loss of energy that is a symptom of becoming "dead wood."

How Can Faculty Energy and Creativity Be Maintained and Renewed?

Most studies report more diversity among older faculty than younger faculty. As mentioned earlier, the literature on aging reveals that individuals tend to become more different because they tend to practice and enjoy those things that they do well and not to practice and thus to decline in abilities in that which they experience less success. Thus older faculty members are likely to vary greatly, not only in productivity but also in terms of interest, abilities, roles, and career patterns. Thus, any general prescriptions should be taken not as recipes to be administered uniformly, but to be used as guides for individual prescriptions. The research studies of Pelz and Andrews, Clark and Corcoran (1983) and Blackburn (1982) give us useful clues about the kind of conditions likely to release faculty energy.

1. *Freedom*. Almost every study of faculty motivation has indicated that individuals going into academic life choose it because of strong needs for autonomy, and studies of university faculty in various stages of their careers report that faculty members value autonomy and stress their freedom and sense of personal control over their lives as an important element of satisfaction. This does not mean that administrators should simply adopt a laissez-faire philosophy. The optimal freedom is freedom within an organization that has goals of its own in which faculty goals are coordinated in ways to accomplish institutional goals.
2. *Diversity*. The Pelz and Andrews studies, as well as others, indicate that faculty do well when they have opportunities to do more than one thing. A full-time researcher is not likely to be more productive than one who has some mix of research with administration or teaching. Thus if one wants to maximize ability to use special competencies of the faculty, this should not mean taking away other demands and opportunities.

   One prefers not to view budget cuts as a positive force, but it may well be that current fiscal constraints force institutions to make new demands upon older faculty, and these new demands may actually help to revitalize those who have grown stale performing the same activities year after year. Faculty members need opportunities for growth. Assignments to team teaching, working with other faculty members in developing new courses, encouragement to develop new skills—all can lead to greater satisfaction and productivity. The Center for Research on Learning and Teaching of University of Michigan offers workshops not only on basic teaching skills such as lecturing, discussion-leading, and test construction but also in new methods of teaching problem-solving and the use of personal computers in teaching. We have been pleased that full professors are heavily represented in our workshops, suggesting that senior faculty members recognize and appreciate opportunities for learning.
3. *Risk-taking*. Productivity in the later years of academic life is most likely to be maintained if faculty members are encouraged to take on new projects, to take risks rather than settling into comfortable patterns. One of the problems of the older faculty member is that both the faculty member and administrators are likely to feel that it's not worthwhile to ask the older person to undertake preparation of a new course or to participate in research involving the development of new skills since there are only a few years left to retirement period. Perhaps the potential end of mandatory retirement will reduce the pressures toward conservative career patterns.

The earlier papers in this monograph by Howard Bowen and Zelda Gamson have all pointed to the potential of new roles linking the university to business and outside organizations. Gamson has described some of the energy released when faculty members cooperate in developing new educational structures.

4. *Complexity*. Faculty members report that they would like to have more emphasis upon teaching and more time to spend on teaching. One reason for this need is that the teaching situation offers new challenges and a depth of complexity that is continually challenging. One of the reasons that the Center for Research on Learning and Teaching includes in its workshops a good deal of theoretical material as well as practical training is that we believe that faculty members will be stimulated by seeing differences that they had not observed among students or among potential teaching approaches that work with different kinds of students. As they observe their teaching and their students more closely, new complexities and new questions emerge, provoking stimulation and challenge. In the national surveys of occupations by French and Caplan, faculty members scored high in their desire for complexity and reported that academic life provides very nearly an optimal amount of complexity.
5. *Time pressure*. In meetings twice a year with younger faculty members gathered in the Lilly Endowment meetings of young faculty, I have noted that one of the most common complaints is excessive time pressure. Programs such as the Lilly Endowment help relieve some of this pressure by providing support for portions of the young faculty members' time, but administrators should be aware of their problem and sensitive to the need to help younger faculty members control demands upon time or at least to develop time management strategies.

On the other hand, administrators are sometimes reluctant to apply time pressures to senior faculty. Many department chairs are reluctant to ask senior professors to take on more work or to assume roles that are different from those the professor has usually filled. As argued earlier, it is not healthy for older faculty members to hold tightly to "their courses"; some rotation of courses is probably good both for faculty members and for their students.

Conclusion

What can we conclude from this summary of conditions leading to loss of energy and those conducive to greater investment of energy? What I have tried to say is that there is always hope, and that one of the steps administrators can take is to manipulate the environment in ways that enable individuals to find *hope* in the situation. Faculty members, like other human beings, can do a great deal to construct their own environments. They are curious; they like to feel competent; they will work hard when they feel that they are making worthwhile contributions. A sense of being appreciated for those contributions, a feeling that the future has bright spots as well as some of the gloomy scenarios stressed in the media; a sense of being valued by one's colleagues and administrators—these are the factors that will lead to greater effectiveness. Faculty members need to have a sense of our high expectations and confidence in them. Usually our young faculty have a sense that we expect much of them, but among the older faculty, it may well be that positive feelings are simply appreciation for past contributions, but diminished expectations for future contributions. Both young and older faculty need to experience a sense of

being encouraged to do well, encouraged to work hard and effectively. A faculty career can be fun. Most of us have experienced that fun in the past. Let's make the future fun in academe!

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RENEWING FACULTY QUALITY

Robert T. Blackburn and Janet Lawrence

The well-being of the academic profession is a subject of growing concern throughout the higher education community. In recent years many reports and articles have expressed this concern, particularly the career prospects of professors in less popular academic fields or in unstable academic institutions. Anxiety has grown for the welfare of higher education in general as opportunities to hire young professors and to enlarge faculties have decreased significantly. It seems clear that if colleges and universities are to prosper in the next two decades, they must reevaluate their human resource needs and reassess personnel policies and practices. Higher education institutions must discover new ways to utilize current human resources, especially faculty members, more creatively and productively.

Nearly a decade ago, Bailey (1974, p. 27) wrote that "the most important thing about a college is the quality of the lives of the people who staff it." This statement is probably more accurate today than it was then. In a labor- intensive enterprise like higher education, human resources are the most valuable commodity. The vitality and effectiveness of a college or university is directly linked to the quality, resourcefulness, and vigor of its faculty members.

However, staffing a higher education institution is not simply a matter of filling positions with "people who presently are capable of doing them competently" (Porter and others, 1975, p. 189). Colleges and universities exist in a rapidly changing environment. The human resource skills needed to operate a college evolve over time. Hence, it is necessary for institutions to monitor their productivity and human resource needs on an ongoing basis in order to assure that they derive maximum benefit from their faculty members.

Human resources require careful study and planning, just as economic and physical resources do. No responsible academic institution would commit funds to a new library or theater complex without assurances that the facilities would meet important educational needs. Likewise, responsible institutions should not invest large sums in faculty salaries and support services without keeping track of the return on their investment. Colleges and universities can no longer afford to take their human resources for granted. To preserve quality in the 1980s and 1990s, effective use of faculty resources is vital.

New Shape of Ongoing Human Resource Problem

Concern for the effective use of faculty resources is not a new issue in higher education. To quote the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1972, p. 26), "What is different is the problem's current shape and intensity." A combination of negative circumstances makes it difficult for higher education institutions to keep pace with emerging educational needs. Overburdened financial resources limit faculty opportunities to conduct research or to travel and participate in professional development activities. Funds for supplies and support services have declined at almost all institutions. Opportunities for "psychic relief" (Bailey, 1974, p. 24) from the routine of the academic career have diminished substantially and threaten the morale of those in the academic profession.

Long-term prospects for advancement in the academic career are also discouraging for many faculty members. Low retirement rates and steady-state conditions in higher education have virtually eliminated career mobility for many college faculty. Few have the

opportunity to move on to challenging new assignments either where they currently work or at another college or university. Moreover, limited faculty hiring is gradually increasing the mean age of the professoriate and the generation gap that inevitably develops between students and professors. Many academic institutions are losing the "ginger of newness" (Bailey, 1974, p. 24) once provided by a steady influx of fresh, enthusiastic new professors.

During the next two decades, this combination of unfavorable circumstances will undoubtedly have a significant impact on individual faculty members and on the institutions in which they work. It limits institutional ability to add new courses and to introduce new subject fields. With too many faculty at the wrong age (i.e., mid career, far from retirement) or in the wrong fields (i.e., ones with declining enrollment), colleges find it difficult to respond to shifting enrollment patterns or expanding areas of knowledge. Due to these same unfavorable circumstances, the future of most faculty is tied much more intimately than it was in the past to the fate of their present institution (Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1980).

Higher education institutions that desire to prosper in the years ahead must find ways of adapting their programs in spite of severe limits on their resources. Already, colleges and universities have taken a wide range of actions to maintain their responsiveness to changing educational circumstances. Faculty development programs, increased hiring of part-time instructors, tenure quotas, and early retirement policies all represent efforts to maintain flexible, productive faculty resources. As yet, special program and policy adjustments of this sort have not been sufficient to preserve educational vitality. In the lean years ahead, academic institutions must use all of their resources—including their human resources—more flexibly and more creatively if they wish to ensure long-term survival.

Toward Effective Use of Faculty Resources

One of the principal managerial problems of a higher education organization is to match institutional resources with student demand. Some disjuncture between student interests and faculty resources is inevitable (Stadtman, 1980). Of course, the problem becomes more complex in a period when there is little opportunity to hire new teaching staff. For example, Carnegie Council data indicate that enrollment in professional majors increased from 38 percent in 1969 to 58 percent in 1977. During the same period, enrollment in the humanities dropped from 9 percent to 5 percent and physical science enrollments declined from 7 percent to 4 percent. However, faculty positions in these teaching fields changed hardly at all during this period, and the result was serious imbalances in the distribution of faculty resources (Stadtman, 1980).

Pondering higher education's resource problems, Bailey (1974, p. 26) asked "Is there a chance that the traumas of diminishing resources . . . can be mitigated by attention to qualitative changes in the lives of those associated with institutions of higher education? . . . Can we help those who remain to start growing again?" Colleges and universities should answer Bailey's question with a confident yes. Efficient use of faculty resources can open a wide array of professional growth opportunities that can help to maintain institutional vitality and effectiveness. However, the human resource questions facing higher education are not simple. Colleges and universities must consider how they can derive maximum benefit from their precious faculty resources, how they can create a climate that will stimulate faculty growth and adaptation, and how they can promote faculty self-actualization.

Higher education institutions typically have not been farsighted with regard to their human resources. Student interests and faculty needs frequently become known only after the fact. Consequently, it often takes several years before institutions can reallocate their resources to provide the courses that students desire or the services that faculty need (Stadtman, 1980). However, to be successful in today's volatile environment, higher education institutions and the faculty whom they employ must anticipate and adapt to one another's needs. Professors must be able to adjust their skills to changing educational demands, or their colleges will lose their ability to compete for students. Similarly, institutional objectives must encompass the career goals of the faculty whom they wish to develop, or professors' morale will inevitably suffer. A convergence of individual career goals and organization development plans can promote growth beneficial at both the individual and the institutional level (Porter and others, 1975).

One of the most effective ways of changing an organization is to change the people who comprise it. Colleges that wish to adapt to the educational objectives of the 1980s should capitalize on the natural flexibility and growth potential of their human resources. Unfortunately, colleges and universities typically do not take advantage of the full range of skills that their faculty members possess. They tend to fit professors into narrow classifications defined by disciplinary specialities and overlook a diverse array of other talents and interests that professors bring. As a rule, academics are broadly educated people. Often, their principal teaching field represents only a portion of the total store of their knowledge and experience. By viewing faculty as general institutional resources, not solely as information specialists, higher education institutions can capitalize on latent individual talents.

Tannenbaum and Davis (1969, p. 71) describe "the tremendous untapped potential in most individuals [that is] yearning for discovery and release." Proponents of organizational development adhere to two main value assumptions that derive from a strong belief in human potential. They assert, first, that individuals have an inherent capacity for growth and, second, that individuals also have a desire for growth (Porter and others, 1975). College faculty possess these attributes in abundance. They have demonstrated that they are intelligent. They are motivated, and they have considerable self-discipline. Above all, they are good learners. The key human resource objective for a higher education institution is to promote faculty self-actualization by facilitating their natural growth and by bringing about more complete utilization of the total person.

Human resources are more difficult to manipulate than economic or physical assets. They can be difficult to develop and maintain. If they are not employed properly, they can atrophy and become ineffective. Hence, higher education institutions must be sensitive to professors' interests, aspirations, and the overall quality of their work life. Colleges and universities must try to maintain conditions that favor professional growth at the same time that they try to adapt educational programs to shifting student demands. They must maintain an ongoing dialogue with their faculty members to ensure that faculty understand their circumstances, needs, and objectives and vice versa. In this way, institutional and individual actions can complement one another and work toward common goals.

Collecting Relevant Information

Colleges can stimulate the development of their faculty resources by gathering and sharing data on variables that are directly relevant to academic careers. Information on

enrollment trends, tenure ratios, financial conditions, funding opportunities, and training programs can sensitize faculty members to institutional needs and to their own professional growth options. By maintaining up-to-date information on faculty and institutional conditions, colleges can help faculty members to plan their career path in line with their own development goals. A well-stocked human resource data bank can enable colleges and universities to anticipate emerging trends within the ranks of their faculty. By monitoring faculty satisfaction, work load, age distribution, and other important variables, higher education institutions can adapt their policies and redesign positions to capitalize effectively on new or underutilized capabilities among faculty. Awareness of changing institutional conditions and faculty attributes enables colleges and universities to offer challenging assignments and novel growth opportunities that maintain enthusiasm among professors who must respond to changing educational circumstances (Porter and others, 1975).

Of course, it is easy to advocate that colleges and universities should be sensitive to conditions that influence the effectiveness of their faculty. It is more difficult, however, to determine the specific factors that institutions should monitor in order to accurately assess the human resource climate on campus. Information needs vary from campus to campus. Data that are useful at one college can be less useful at another. Essentially, each institution needs periodically to take the pulse of its faculty resources. It should examine the personal and professional attributes of its faculty and the environmental characteristics that influence their performance. In order to utilize faculty resources effectively, higher education institutions must assess professors' circumstances and needs from a variety of relevant perspectives.

Personal and Professional Attributes of Faculty

Colleges and universities should monitor the personal and professional variables related to faculty performance. We know that faculty feed more on internal rewards than they do on external ones (McKeachie, 1979). It is not that money is unimportant to faculty—its deficiency causes dissatisfaction—but rather that academics make primary decisions about what college to join and what activities to perform more on the basis of the conditions of work than they do on the dollars and cents that are offered. Stimulating and competent colleagues and students, the opportunity to teach courses that one desires, opportunities for scholarly growth—these are what give faculty their major satisfactions and rewards. Hence, institutions need to keep track of the level of faculty satisfaction and the factors that foster or inhibit such satisfaction.

Second, most of what we know about faculty careers comes from studies of male academics or from a mix of the sexes, with males in the majority. When the sexes are compared, differences in such matters as role preference (teaching over research) and scholarly publications frequently appear. However, many of the results are debatable and certainly depend on factors other than gender. For example, for females, marital status leads to different predictions. Publication rates for never-married females differ very little from rates for males. Married or not currently married differ. In any event, the institution that is concerned about the well-being of faculty should carefully examine the career circumstances of all types of academics.

Third, while tenure is once again under attack with some colleges and universities

trying alternative models, the evidence does not support the repeated assertion that tenure is the cause of faculty unwillingness to change, decreased or discontinued scholarly output, or dull teaching. Faculty who are tenured are not different on most dimensions from faculty who are not (Blackburn, 1972).

Fourth, career stage seems to matter in faculty productivity (Baldwin and Blackburn, 1981; Blackburn and Havighurst, 1979). Interests, desires, worries, and the like fluctuate over time and need to be considered by the sensitive institution. Furthermore, the critical career events for individual faculty also depend on the individual's academic emphasis—teaching, research, or service. Because longitudinal studies are few in number, the information just cited needs to be interpreted with caution. Nonetheless, it is imperative for colleges and universities to recognize that important developmental differences do exist among professors.

Fifth, institutions should be sensitive to the differences that exist among faculty subcultures. These differences can be identified within and between traditional disciplines and professional schools. Values and norms vary appreciably across units. Business disciplines expect faculty to consult and would consider individuals who do not to be lacking in professional stature, whereas many arts and science departments judge a colleague who consults with some regularity as not a true academic. Other differences across departments and schools include basic intellectual paradigms, concern for faculty governance and administrative structures, ways of dealing with students, and teaching modes. In addition, there is also variation within the subgroups. Programs to maintain faculty vitality need to take matters related to academic specialty into consideration.

Last, there are specific psychological attributes that are probably related to faculty vitality. Unfortunately, research in this domain is limited. No large-scale studies have included basic psychological traits of faculty. When data have been collected on such characteristics as flexibility, self-esteem, and anxiety, they have been shown to interrelate with stress and performance on the job (e.g., student judgments of teaching effectiveness) (Clark and Blackburn, 1973). Higher education institutions should be cognizant of the ways in which important psychological traits interact with professors' work. By monitoring relevant personal and professional attributes of faculty members, colleges and universities can develop policies and services that meet faculty needs and facilitate their ongoing development.

Environmental Characteristics

Environmental characteristics related to faculty performance also require careful observation. The environment in which faculty work can be conceptualized by its structural components and by its interpersonal aspects. These aspects can then be divided between those which are formally arranged and designed and those which occur on an informal ad hoc basis. This fourfold division can be used to identify and improve the environmental conditions that affect faculty vitality.

Formal/Structural. Libraries, laboratories, and similar essential facilities necessary for faculty to conduct their work all fall into the formal/structural category. Moreover, formal human arrangements are just as important as bricks and mortar in supporting faculty vitality. Networks through the committee structure and task forces are two examples of such arrangements. So, too, is administrative leadership when it exposes faculty to new

issues and problems to be solved and when it develops an esprit that energizes individual and group efforts to attain excellence and to meet higher standards of accomplishment and performance.

As obvious as such formal structures are, external forces can erode them all too easily if their existence is not kept constantly in mind. When dollars are short, the temptation for administrators to increase faculty work load, to trim the library budget by not matching increases with rising costs, and to spend their time not on academic leadership but on budget matters is almost irresistible. The danger in such actions is that the resulting small saving will be more than offset by decreased faculty vitality. To prevent negative conditions from developing, it is important to monitor how conditions within the formal/structural environment affect faculty.

Formal/Personal. Classes, symposia, lecture and concert series, and other regularly scheduled formal structures bring members of the community of faculty and students together and provide opportunities for faculty growth. Each of these structures is a potential source of new ideas and stimulation, although they are not always used with this goal in mind. For example, charging a group of faculty to redesign the college's general education program—say by the creation of interdisciplinary courses—provides an excellent opportunity for colleagues to learn from one another. A new body of literature is explored, unique modes of teaching are identified, and novel solutions to problems are entertained.

Such activities as these and others like them—faculty explorations with business and industry, temporary assignments on institutional projects, or off-campus classes in nontraditional settings—that encourage faculty to exchange ideas and take on new challenges can be systematically built into the ongoing life of colleges and universities. By studying the formal/personal environment on campus, institutions can better facilitate the kind of faculty growth and development that they desire to promote.

Informal/Structural. Professional meetings, journals, information networks, and other forms of systematic exchange are a part of the regular structure of higher education. They provide the stimulus as well as the knowledge necessary for further growth and activity. One of the strongest predictors of productive faculty is the frequency and number of persons with whom they maintain semiformal contact.

Here, too, the implications are obvious. Some of the actions run counter to the intended goals. Economic efficiency is often translated into reducing the telephone bill, especially for long-distance calls. Reducing conference attendance is defended on the grounds that the papers presented can be obtained by mail. Yet, it is not the papers themselves that contribute new ideas to faculty but the informal exchanges in corridors and restaurants. The cost of reducing this kind of faculty activity can be high. To maintain a healthy professional climate, colleges and universities should periodically examine their informal/structural environment and assess how well it supports faculty vitality.

Informal/Personal. The informal/personal dimension includes all of the special kinds of relationships between individuals that make a difference in career development and continued growth. The role of senior professor with a novitiate, the sponsor or mentor with her or his protege, and the friendships that both support and challenge colleagues are not formally built into college and university structures and probably cannot be. Still, there are ways in which institutional leaders can increase the likelihood that such relationships will develop. Senior faculty enjoy the mentoring role. This type of liaison would occur

more frequently if administrative leadership created conditions that encouraged collaboration among novice and veteran faculty. Seed money for grant development that stipulated senior-junior pairing is one easy way of encouraging productive faculty interaction. So are committee appointments and office arrangements that bring faculty into close contact with one another. Information on the informal/personal climate of an institution can help colleges and universities to determine how they can foster creative and stimulating alliances among professors.

Conclusion

The proper combination of personal and professional variables with supportive environmental conditions needs to be established in colleges and universities in order to capitalize fully on valuable faculty resources. Person-environment fit theory (French and others, 1982) helps to illustrate the important relationship that exists between individuals and their work environment. Information on significant faculty attributes and environmental factors that are related to individual performance can clarify the person-environment fit at an institution. Hence, such information can suggest the kinds of actions that colleges and universities should take in order to foster faculty vitality.

The available evidence makes it clear that college professors nationwide are working under less than ideal circumstances. However, it would be misleading to conclude that the condition of the professoriate is weak, or lethargic, or even demoralized. The academic profession is not a homogeneous group. Faculty well-being differs among disciplinary fields and among types of higher education institutions. At present, for example, faculty in applied fields such as engineering or computer science can choose from many attractive career opportunities. However, professors in the humanities have very limited career options.

To achieve a meaningful assessment of the circumstances and needs of its faculty members, a college or university must keep track of the factors that affect their professional performance. The research on faculty that a liberal arts college conducts will differ in important ways from the studies that a community college or research university will need to carry out. Essentially, higher education institutions must gather the types of information that will help them to maintain an enthusiastic and productive academic work force.

Colleges and universities can profit greatly from careful observation of the condition of the professoriate. Information on faculty well-being can indicate the kinds of support that will be most beneficial to professors at specified points in their career. It can help colleges to develop personnel policies that will foster faculty career growth. It can assist institutions to direct limited financial resources to departments and individuals who will derive maximum benefit from them. Thus, modes of investment of staff time and energy to monitor faculty attributes and needs should pay generous dividends in the form of enhanced morale, growth, and productivity. Close attention to the condition of the professoriate will help higher education institutions to maintain educational vitality by employing their human resources effectively.

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COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES AS WORKPLACES

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The enormous literature on higher education hardly ever looks at how colleges and universities operate as workplaces, or how the questions that are investigated—whether they be planning strategies, governance structures, or curricular change—affect the way employees do their work. In the business and industrial sector, the well-developed literature on worklife rarely touches public sector organizations, let alone colleges and universities.

Research Agendas

Colleges and universities are peculiar entities when considered as organizations—the interpenetrating bureaucratic and collegial structures, the strange varieties of organizational politics, the mixtures of centralization and decentralization. Compared to the private sector, wages and salaries in colleges and universities are often lower, and opportunities for advancement are more constrained. Psychic rewards have, however, been high and work has been more varied and autonomous than in other kinds of organizations (Scott, 1978 and 1979; Thomas, 1978; Kanter, 1979).

There is some evidence already that what was thought to be generally true about academic personnel—that faculty, for instance, are motivated primarily by intrinsic rather than extrinsic rewards—may be most characteristic of the expansionary period. To be sure, changes occur slowly and at different rates in different kinds of institutions. On this as well as other matters, comparative research is needed. Making use of instruments developed to describe and disguise the nature of worklife in other settings (Hackman and Oldham, 1980; Institute for Social Research, 1980; Quinn and Mangione, 1970; Quinn and Shepard, 1974), as well as instruments already developed (Bowling Green, 1980; Austin, 1984) studies of different employee groups must be done in a variety of colleges and universities. Account should be taken of differences related to variables of size, selectivity, and public or private support, which have emerged in several studies as important correlates of work attitudes and activities in higher education.

Very little research has been directed to the work experience of clerical and other support staff. However, since these employees have skills that can be used in many different types of organizations, they should be studied. They are essential to the smooth daily operation of the workplace; understanding the nature of their work and the sources of their frustrations and satisfactions is critical to faculty and administrators. Interestingly, the literature in business and industry has focused more on the work experience of those lower in the hierarchy and less on those in middle and top management. In contrast, the higher education literature has more frequently focused on faculty and senior administrators with less attention to lower-level administrators and support staff.

Another area which merits special attention concerns the measurement of productivity in higher education. It has been assumed that concepts such as satisfaction, opportunities for participation, autonomy, power, and mobility result in increased productivity and quality. There is enough controversy about this assumption in the general literature on work, however (Katz and Kahn, 1966; Blumberg, 1968; Berg, 1978; Heckscher, 1980), that it is worth special attention in colleges and universities, whose products and organizational structures are quite different from profit-driven organizations.

Collective bargaining among university employees may be a reaction to the increasing pressures on higher education. While a substantial body of literature is developing on this topic (Kemerer & Baldridge, 1975; Angell, 1977; Lee, 1978, 1982; Mortimer and McConnell, 1978; Kemerer & Baldridge, 1981), research should be directed to the implications of unions for decision-making power, self-perception, and role conflict among administrators, faculty, and staff. The governance structure of universities and colleges and the peculiar role of professors pose vexing questions when collective bargaining is introduced into colleges and universities.

In addition to further study within colleges and universities, research should also be comparative with other sectors. While research funds for comparative studies are limited, secondary analysis of data sets on worklife in other organizations or from national samples is possible, if not always ideal. Comparisons with business or industrial settings or with government or service agencies may highlight the uniqueness of universities and colleges as well as the ways in which they are similar to other workplaces. For example, do particular groups of university employees, such as clerical staff or administrators, experience dimensions of work similar to their counterparts in other organizations, or are they more like other employees in colleges and universities, such as faculty? Comparative analyses involving service and business organizations may provide useful ideas for colleges and universities dealing with retrenchment.

The research agenda outlined above has both practical and theoretical implications. Colleges and universities as workplaces are microcosms for investigating basic questions about how organizations and individuals respond to scarcity. In an institutional sector as central as higher education to the fortunes of the nation, this is a critical applied question as well.

Policy Implications

Retrenchment raises questions which have not yet been explored sufficiently in the literature on work. What approaches will enable the widest participation in the difficult decisions that must be made? How can opportunities for professional growth be improved when budgets are being cut and mobility options frozen? Perhaps the most important question of all concerns the commitment of those who work in higher education. Under the conditions colleges and universities will be facing in the 1980's and 1990's, how will the generally high commitment of faculty, administrators and support staff be maintained?

Let us review what the literature has already told us about recent responses to the current situation among various employee groups. Recent studies of different employee groups show that the intrinsic characteristics of work, satisfaction, and commitment remain quite stable under variable conditions. At the same time, many faculty members and administrators are experiencing a decline in the extrinsic aspects of their work. A general "speed-up"—more work for the same pay, is occuring. Role conflict, stress, and time pressure appear to be increasing. For many faculty and administrators, opportunities for mobility are very limited and morale is declining. On many campuses, the physical plant is not maintained to the same standard as in previous years. Though we can only speculate, the quality of work life for clerical and support staff appears to be less positive than in years past.

What can be done in this situation? A review of the current literature on effective organizations (Naisbitt, 1982; Kanter, 1983; Peters and Waterman, 1982) leads to the following recommendations: (1) Leaders of colleges and universities must pay more attention to articulating institutional purposes. (2) Task and decision-making structures must become more collaborative and less hierarchical. (3) There must be persuasive programs for career planning and for the development of all employees. Following is a brief review of each recommendation one at a time.

Pay More Attention to Articulating Purposes

Relatively separate structures for administrators and faculty have been accepted over the years. Now, however, a struggle seems to be underway between the bureaucratic structure and the collegial structure, with bureaucratic structure gaining a foothold. This circumstance is not a function of senior administrators who are power-hungry people; many of them are former faculty members who have been resistant to the centralization of power (Moore, 1983). In fact, many administrators, "from presidents on down, feel almost overwhelmed by demands of the bureaucracy that call for accountability but provide few rewards and give campus leaders little freedom to make their own decisions" (Carnegie Foundation, 1982, p. 89). Presidents, deans, and their staffs do not necessarily gain power as the bureaucratic structure expands.

The situation is vastly more complicated, more structural in design. While individual faculty members may continue to find their lives as academics personally satisfying, the academic corporate body has lost its sense of purpose. Splintered by differences among the disciplines in perspective and method and organized into departments, the faculty, particularly in universities, has been unable to act together on anything significant for a long period of time. This was not a serious problem when there were enough students and research money. But as funds diminished, the faculty has become trapped in the discipline-bound structure. Faculty have found themselves competing with one another across departments—even within departments—for portions of a smaller pie. Individuals and groups of faculty occasionally break out, but they pay a high price in lost time, minimal rewards, and isolation as they struggle, along with their colleagues, to teach more courses, write more articles, and serve on more committees.

The shift in power to the administration is more than a matter of "governance." It also affects the "normative orientation" (Etzioni, 1961)—the soul—of higher education. "Utilitarian orientations" curdle idealism. This is especially dangerous if the tenured faculty, who will on the whole stay in their positions, turn their efforts to achieving exclusively personal goals. Time-servers, apparatchiks, and operators have always been present, but they were exceptions rather than the rule.

Colleges and universities have always run on the commitment of their employees to do more. Commitment is a precious resource, one that turns out to be a key to the productivity and effectiveness of most organizations (Katzell, Yankelovich et al., 1975; Peters & Waterman, 1982). Employee commitment is based on a sense that the institution in which they work is worthy and cares about them. Leaders are crucial in shaping the atmosphere that gives rise to personal feelings of loyalty and commitment. Indeed, most effective organizations have leaders who constantly articulate institutional beliefs. In coping with financial problems, leaders of colleges and universities have forgotten that the prime

activity for managers is to shape the culture of the institution (Peters and Waterman, 1982). These leaders could learn a good deal from colleges of character (Martin, 1982; Clark, 1970) which have managed to survive against many odds.

Make Task and Decision-Making Structures More Collaborative

In business and industry, much attention is being directed to Japanese management techniques (Ouchi, 1981). Cultural differences make importation of such techniques into American settings complex and far from automatic. Nevertheless certain principles seem to apply to the United States. Effective organizational structures are flexible, staffing is rather lean, and communication frequent and direct. Sub-units have permeable boundaries and work groups shift easily as new needs arise. While their organizational charts may look disorganized—if they have any at all—and their hierarchies flat, such organizations do their work creatively and efficiently.

Colleges and universities are traditional organizations, and rightly so. The commitment to collegiality, to tenure, to protection of the cultural heritage have all insulated higher education from the vagaries of the market. We know from the literature on effective organizations that it is not tradition, which after all is the basis for the sense of purpose in many colleges and universities, but the centralization of power and the bureaucratization of decision-making that threatens higher education, just as it threatens other organizations (Kanter, 1983; Peters and Waterman, 1982; Naisbitt, 1982). Regardless of whether they are traditional or non-traditional, effective organizations make the best use of their employees by encouraging collaboration in the pursuit of goals. Theorists writing about higher education are beginning to examine the importance of collaboration in colleges and universities (Nichols, 1982; Spiro & Campbell, 1983). Powers & Powers' recently published book, *Making Participatory Management Work* (1983), discusses a consultive approach to decision-making in academic environments. They describe the participatory approach in this way:

> Consultation involves opening decision-making processes to concerned constituencies holding diverse points of view in the hope that reasoned discourse and patient, far-ranging discussion may lead to consensus on issues or to better mutual understanding of the needs, goals, and interests of each group involved (1983, p. 219).

Consultive decision-making involves the participation of employees at all levels in decisions that affect them. A key to this participation is full availability of the information needed to make decisions in a form that employees can understand and use (Peters and Waterman, 1982). A leader does not abdicate responsibility by using a participatory approach. Leaders still must make hard decisions, but they do so by involving as many people as possible in developing ideas, writing and discussing position papers, and building support for the best decision.

While time is required for leaders to develop the skills that contribute to good participatory decision-making and time is also needed for deliberation to occur, Powers & Powers (1983) conclude that the advantages of consultive decision-making outweigh the disadvantages. It generates good ideas and because information is gathered widely and the knowledge and skills of may people are utilized, better decisions result. Consultive decision-making also supports individual needs for personal achievement, autonomy, and

psychological growth. It often increases the productivity of faculty, administrators, and staff who understand how and why a decision is reached. And finally, participatory decision-making increases the legitimacy of decisions, and the trust and understanding of constituent groups.

These are intriguing ideas—ideas worth pursuing seriously as they become perfected in other sectors. The translation of practices suitable for business and industry into colleges and universities will require great sensitivity and sophistication. Powers & Powers' book provides a framework for efforts of this kind, but specific examples of successful participatory decision-making in higher education will take some time to develop. Those colleges and universities where faculty members are working collaboratively to improve the undergraduate curriculum provide some examples from which we can learn (Gaff, 1983; Gamson, 1984).

Collaborative efforts will succeed to the extent that faculty, administrators, and staff members feel that they are full, participating, and valued "citizens" of their institutions. This will be a slow and difficult process for the many institutions that have lost—or never had—a community. The literature on institutional planning (Mingle, 1981; Jaedamus and Peterson, 1980) indicates that no simple formulas work under conditions of retrenchment. One obvious aspect of the problem is that workers in higher education—faculty members in particular—are not rewarded for being "citizens."

Encourage Career Planning and Development for All Employees

The extensive research on faculty reward systems indicates that faculty, even in teaching-oriented institutions, are promoted and given salary increases according to the number of articles and books they publish. While publications may bring luster to scholars in their disciplines and reflected glory (as well as much-coveted overhead monies) to their institutions, they do not help much in the daily life of institutions. Nor do they contribute significantly to the central purpose of most colleges and universities, which is undergraduate teaching. Teaching universities must stop emulating the research universities, which are more in the business of producing knowledge than of teaching, and balance the emphasis on scholarship versus teaching and service. It is only then that faculty will be willing and able to engage in collaborative work and consultive decision-making.

Coincident with a balanced focus on the reward structure should be an all-out effort to expand the mobility and choice of the individuals working in higher education. Researchers have suggested an array of new approaches to faculty development, and some of these approaches could be adopted for administrators and staff as well (Schurr, 1980; Shulman, 1980; West, 1980; Toombs and Marlier, 1981; Shulman, 1983). Innovative workload arrangements could be developed to stimulate faculty growth (Shulman, 1980). Recommendations include in-house visiting lectureship programs in which professors are selected to serve as resource persons to other faculty member and special lecturers for classes other than their own. Professors could also be given short-term administrative assignments which expand their knowledge and experience. In order to retrain professors for new teaching areas, universities and colleges might develop summer or year-long internships in government or industry, as well as exchange programs with other academic and non-academic institutions (Schurr, 1980; Toombs and Marlier, 1981). Options include early retirement plans with cash settlements and partial benefits typically awarded only at

retirement. Phased retirement, allowing for several years of part-time employment contracts, is another possibility.

The problem of limited mobility must also be faced. Schurr (1980) recommends that foundations or government agencies organize "a concerted program of collecting, refining, developing and disseminating model institutional policies which both involve faculty members in dealing with career constraints and enable faculty members to develop career options." Other ideas include summer workshops at which campus teams could share ideas and develop strategies to deal with mobility problems, multi-campus career planning centers and libraries, and publication programs on career options. Schurr (1980) also recommends that a consortium of cooperating institutions or foundations provide emergency assistance for terminated faculty members.

Conclusion

While the result of the efforts recommended above cannot be predicted exactly, they are clearly worth undertaking. For it is only now that colleges and universities have come to recognize that the structures that worked in the expansionary period are not effective in a period of fiscal constraint. While colleges and universities do not have much control over their external resources, they can generally choose how to distribute their resources internally, according to what principles and which procedures. The response to constraint in the past decade has been to push existing structures and the people in them to their limits and hope for the best. Faculty and staff do not gain from such organizational naivete. It is time to learn from the best organizational research and practice. If the imagination and resources that are directed to studying other research agendas were to be turned to colleges and universities as workplaces, we might find that there are more rational, less costly ways to confront economic problems while remaining faithful to the highest ideals of higher education.

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ACADEMIC LEADERSHIP: SOME PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

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In this chapter, I would like to add a thought or two to the quest for academic renewal and emphasize what I consider to be the personal dimensions of leadership in higher education. I shall cast my remarks in very human terms, and draw upon personal experiences that have shaped my life. Specifically, I will comment on four rules of leadership that I believe will be critically important in the days ahead.

First, I am convinced that the rewards of leadership come not from the size of the institution, not from the visibility of the job, but from a sense of purpose and from knowing that the cause for which you work is truly worthy. This is something that cannot be assigned; it must be felt. It was twenty-five years ago when—much against my better judgment—I agreed to become academic dean at the world's smallest higher learning institution. Upland College had 150 students, more or less, if you counted the part-timers and perhaps a janitor or two. While this struggling institution closed its doors many years ago, I still remember Upland College with enormous satisfaction.

At Upland, a young, committed faculty was recruited. Colleagues came together late at night to talk about purposes and goals. All members of the staff worked together enthusiastically to implement the slogan of the institution which was, "A small college with a vision for service." During those exciting days, we developed a new core curriculum, we launched the first 4-1-4 calendar in the nation, we had brown-bag seminars for the faculty and convocations in which the entire student body met mid-day to talk about important issues.

As I look back to those days of innocence, I recall that we were enthusiastic, not because our ideas were particularly novel, certainly not because our budget was intact (we ran a deficit every single year), but because we had convictions about the goals we shared and we believed, somewhat naively to be sure, that our mission was unique. It sounds a bit old- fashioned, but there was on that campus a spirit that I can only describe as "moral unity."

And now let me contrast that story of tiny Upland College with the sprawling United States Office of Education in Washington, D.C. Contrary to conventional wisdom, there are some beautiful, hard-working people buried deep in what we like to call the federal bureaucracy. We make a grave mistake to assume that Federal employees are a different breed. They only struggle under different conditions, about which many of us can only guess. But it is also true that with few exceptions, people in the federal bureaucracy have lost their zest for living, at least between the hours of 9 to 5. Not because they are evil, but because the system does them in.

Faced with endless turnover at the top, with politicians who use programs to serve their own self-centered ends, and with public ridicule about pointed- headed bureaucrats, the Office (now Department) of Education, like almost every bureaucracy in the Federal government is, for many people, a depressing place. Even the building where I worked had become a joke. You will be pleased to know that the Department of Education is officially housed in FOB-6—Federal Office Building 6. That's about as poetic as you can get. In fact I spent three years searching in off-hours for FOBs 1 through 5. Finally, a year and a half ago, a former colleague who was bemused by my whimsy, said he had discovered FOBs 1 through 9; but he never could find FOB 8. As a footnote, I should

report that the main HEW building next door was called the South Portal Building. I thought that had a celestial ring about it until I discovered that "South Portal" really referred to an exhaust vent for the underground heating system in the City. HEW, in fact, is and was hovering over the biggest hot air vent in the nation's capital. I also was amused when HEW was changed to Health and Human Services—that's H_2S. Clearly, Washington has a sense of humor.

While Commissioner of Education, I met regularly with members of the union. In fact, when I went to Washington, I heard immediately about the hostilities in the bureaucracy and during my first week on the job told the union leaders, "I'll meet with you once a month." Although there was both anger and a poignancy in those encounters, I kept the promise. During our first meeting the president of the union stunned me not by asking, "When will we get a raise," or "Improve the working conditions," but rather, "Mr. Commissioner, are you going to be able to bring a sense of purpose to this sprawling enterprise?" Here were the so-called bureaucrats talking about a sense of purpose.

In the nation's capital, salaries are on average among the highest in the nation. But, I was reminded time and time again that men and women do not live by bread alone. All of us, to live with confidence and joy, must have a sense of purpose. After all, a job that is worthy means that life is worthy, too. We are, to some extent, what we "work," because through our work—through our vocations—we turn our intelligence and our energy toward a worthy cause.

To be an effective leader in the days ahead, presidents and deans and administrators must believe deeply in the mission of their institution, and, occasionally at least, they must be inspired by the job and find ways to inspire others, too. In higher education, the biggest problem that we face is not money, but clarity of goals and occasional inspiration. And if the zest is gone, life reduces itself to a treadmill; the job becomes dreary, and occasionally depressing. That is not what life intended, nor do I think any institution should be so diminished. Whatever the nature of the problem, I genuinely believe it can be surmounted if people have some sense of joyousness about the cause.

Second, leadership, to be successful, must put people before process. Again, while preparing these remarks, I thought of two personal examples that illustrate the point. When Samuel Gould asked me to join the State University of New York in 1964, I knew virtually nothing about that complicated institution. I went to the library and dug out a *Time* magazine report on how it all began. After looking at a map and reading that story, I discovered that SUNY was a sprawling enterprise of 72 separate institutions which spread from Fredonia in the west to Stonybrook, Long Island in the east. I was discouraged, and concluded that this Rube Goldberg structure would, like the dinosaur, soon become extinct since certainly its body had grown much larger than its brain.

My suspicion was heightened during my first week in Albany. The SUNY central office staff had called its fall meeting with 72 college presidents in the room—count them, 72. These campus leaders were lined up in rows like first grade students dutifully writing down their assignments given by their teachers from the central staff. Soon after that depressing meeting, Sam Gould and I talked about the way to make this curious institution more humane. Could, in fact, the bumblebee be made to fly? How could SUNY be brought to human scale? Can presidents indeed be treated like human beings instead of a section in a bureaucratic network? Well, we secured a very modest grant from the Phillips Foundation (as I recall it was $15,000). How does that stack up against the University's

$400 million annual budget—which today borders on a billion. We used that $15,000 for a weeklong summer presidents' retreat. We ran formal seminars with lots of time for self-renewal. We urged wives to come as well. We tried to suggest that this university not only cares about budgets, paperwork, and counting paper clips, but it also cares about the people who direct the enterprise and it cares about their families, too.

At the business session, one year later, the presidents met as friends. They gathered in the room in clusters like old college classmates meeting at a class reunion and they asked about the families of one another. Wives assembled too. In the first year, 6 SUNY wives attended. Some years later—thanks to the leadership of my wife—there were 60 spouses in attendance. They, too, had organized to make their connection to the University something more than the separate parts. For the first time, the medical school presidents began to talk with colleagues from the two-year institution. It may have been only an illusion but the institution seemed to be, not an anonymous paper enterprise, but a group of people who laughed and loved and had hopes and dreams.

That little exercise taught me a most important lesson: Can a $15,000 David slay a $500 million Goliath? I believe it can. If those dollars are directed toward the people. If the institution accurately can focus—not on what students and staff want *from* colleges, but on what the institution hopes to do *for* them, then meaningful change can occur. And if the institutions are not willing to invest in the people, then they will get exactly what they paid for. In that one experience in New York, I understood far better than I had before that there is no such thing as an organization apart from people. And I began to understand that, ultimately, an organization moves ahead not by paper, but by people.

Indeed, as I reflected on the larger picture, I concluded that there was no such thing as SUNY—except as people "think it." You cannot fabricate it, you cannot feel it, it is only in our minds. And the question administrators must concern themselves with is this: "What signals are we generating in people's minds?" No college or university is any greater than what people think about the institution. And it is the obligation of leadership to start making the moves to create the right kinds of visions.

Here I am tempted to talk about the great debates now going on about merit pay in public education. At The Carnegie Foundation, we have completed a study of the American high school. We spent 2,000 hours in schools from coast to coast, and I am convinced that, when all is said and done, endemic to successful schools is a feeling of encouragement and respect they need to carry on their work.

During my last week as Commissioner of Education, I spent an entire day with students. I talked to them about the public high school, and, at the end, I said, "How many of you have ever had a great teacher during your four years in school?" Each one raised his or her hand. I then said, "How many of you ever thanked a teacher?" Not one hand went up. Then one of the young women, with a slight embarrassment, said, "well, you see, it's not the thing to do." That's a comment on our time. Expressing gratitude to people is not the thing to do. To succeed, a leader—to truly lead—must be willing to say thanks.

This then is a guiding principle for the 1980s, if we are to lead effectively. We must believe that people would rather be praised than criticized; that they would rather have a goal than be adrift; that they would rather succeed than fail. We must see leadership as an act of trust and signal that trust to those we hope to lead.

Third, academic leadership means having a modest agenda of your own. I discovered that in every job I held—whether it was Upland College with 150 students or SUNY with

300,000—that every waking hour could be absorbed by what *others* wanted me to do. Creativity can be lost. I also discovered that reform is incremental. You cannot change everything at once.

My own view of leadership is rather simple: I think of it as a football field (God forbid that I should be out there!)—what I call the "broken field" approach to leadership. The academic leader must be able to see where yardage can be gained and then move aggressively to claim new turf. You will never have a winning touchdown every day, but I am convinced that modest openings always can be found. Without the ability to find them, linebackers will drop back yard by yard every single day. Leadership means having a strategy of your own.

The only thing that got me out of bed for every job I have held is to know that tucked away there was a little yardage that was mine alone—an idea that I could work around the edges. If I thought that I was there simply to respond to the strategy of others, I would stay in bed.

Fourth, good leadership means communication. When I was named Chancellor of SUNY, just when the nation was at the end of the Cambodia crisis and things were being torn apart, at every single press conference there was only one question: How are you going to control the bomb throwers on your campuses. And I was often confronted with intense rage by angry, frustrated students. Time and time again my talks were interrupted. I was repeatedly held hostage and given non-negotiable demands. Even to this day, I occasionally glance toward the door to see if the students will move in. Time and time again, deep down inside, I drifted between feelings of anger and, time and time again, I bit my tongue to keep from shouting back. There were meetings when I did not communicate effectively and when the situation only worsened.

But I would like to report one occasion when something seemed to work, a lesson that I have been able to replicate only occasionally in subsequent days. I was at Binghamton, New York and I had just begun to speak to SUNY faculty gathered from across the state. The board of trustees was in attendance. It was high drama. Just then, 350 students moved in through the swinging doors with placards, chanting slogans, demanding that I free a group of students who had been arrested on the Buffalo campus for breaking and entering the president's office. The microphone was grabbed, and for almost an hour we went back and forth.

Finally I concluded we were not communicating; the meeting was in shambles. (Why it took me sixty minutes to discover that reality I'll never know. Slow learners are always with us.) Even worse, I concluded, and this is the crucial point, I was talking not to people but to a faceless mob.

I left the platform and walked into the crowd. I began talking with a single student. I asked her name, I asked about her family, I asked her why she was so angry. Soon several others joined us. I described how I truly felt and what I could and could not do with integrity at that moment. To make the story short, that session ended. A compromise was reached, and in the process I had learned to know some most attractive students.

I do not mean to be sentimental. I have been rejected many times, but when all is said and done, I'm convinced that good leadership means good communication and candor and trying to convey the fact that even with differences there is basic integrity below it all. I am convinced that almost any struggle can be negotiated successfully, almost any difficulty can be overcome, if there is a sense of openness and confidence in the leadership.

But leadership will certainly erode when communication stops, or when a leader tries to tell each separate audience what he or she thinks it wants to hear.

I have one final idea to convey. *Those who seek to lead must keep their own lives in perspective.* They must put institutional victories and defeats in their proper place. Frankly this is the most essential and the most difficult lesson for all of us to learn. Too often, in the heat of battle, our priorities are tragically misplaced. We sacrifice our health, and those we love, believing that somehow the endless obligations of the job are always more important or that somehow, if we become totally consumed, our leadership will be enhanced. Nothing could be further from the truth.

This distortion of priorities, which often leads to failure, not success, is the most widespread disease in the nation's capital, and it pervades higher learning too. I had been Commissioner of Education about two weeks and was on my way to a very crucial meeting. As I left the office, an assistant came rushing down the hall and said that "the White House" had just called—in government "the White House" means a call from Mt. Olympus. It's always, "The" White House—probably some assistant who is on an internship—but it is "The White House" and everyone must jump.

Well, the White House had just called. "They" wanted a report on how I intended "to stay in touch with the American people." I said "Well I'll be happy to get together tomorrow, and we will draw a little summary of my plan to stay in touch with the American people." My assistant said, "We couldn't wait until tomorrow because the White House wanted the report by COB today. (To those of you who are uninitiated that means "close of business" today.) In a burst of irreverence I responded, "Tell them I'm on my way to meet with some American people right now."

This story suggests the sickness of our institutions. Priorities are endlessly misplaced. Everything, whether trivial or consequential, must be done by COB today. Somehow it's always better to work until 8:00 instead of 6:00, even though we may be totally fatigued and even though our judgments may be dulled and even though the task at hand could wait until tomorrow, and even though it's a task that perhaps should not be done at all.

The simple truth is that most of the things we worry about just never come to pass. I know that sounds like Norman Vincent Peale, but it happens to be true. Six years ago, our family made a hurried move from Albany, New York to Washington, DC. Packing late at night, I uncovered press clippings from my days as chancellor in New York. They were yellowed and faded; the kind of stuff an aging Zigfield girl may have tucked away nostalgically in her dresser drawer. What really struck me were the headlines. I saw front-page stories that at the time caused me endless anguish. But now, just a few years later, I barely could recall what the hubbub was about. As I studied those faded headlines, it struck me just how much emotion had been wasted.

I do not suggest that we go through life like unfeeling robots, rather I suggest that we work very hard to keep events in perspective and try to avoid the endless peaks and valleys.

One final anecdote came to mind as I was preparing these remarks. In 1974, New York State—like the nation as a whole—confronted a recession—and the SUNY budget took a terrible beating. It just so happens we got our budget mark at the very time the presidents were meeting at Saratoga. It was my job to tell them the bad news. Frankly, I dreaded the encounter. These men were all working very hard and I knew the budget crisis only made their problems worse.

I was in my room at the Gideon Putnam Hotel preparing my remarks and I became more and more distressed. There was, I conceded, nothing good to say. And then Kay, my wife—who has always understood how to keep priorities well ordered—said in her gentle way, "What do you mean you have nothing good to say?" She said, "We have each other. We have our health. We have a place to live. We have food to eat. And more than that you have a job to worry about! And it's not that you're getting *no* money for the University—it's that you're not getting the kind of *increase* you would like. Further, while your students are lounging around in wall to wall carpeted students unions, the prisoners at Attica can only take a shave once a week."

Well, I was jolted to my senses. Kay had inspired me to give a very different kind of speech. When I met the presidents I gave the strongest budget presentation they had ever heard. I titled it *Perspectives*. What I did not tell them was that it was my wife's idea.

This is an exhilarating period in higher education. If we can protect space for innovation, keep communication open, and hold priorities in perspective, this will also be a time of hope for higher education. We must encourage leadership not only to keep institutional goals clear but also to keep the focus on people.

From the Foreword

Over the past year, an important change occurred in the outlook of people who think about and lead higher education. Determination, if not optimism, has come to supplant pessimism. The essays in this book signal that shift and set guideposts for a new agenda for higher education.

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Washington, D.C.
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